# Daily Report

# Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-88-224
Monday
21 November 1988

# Daily Report
## Soviet Union

*FBIS-SOV-88-224* *21 November 1988*

CONTENTS


**ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT**

Statistics Released on Progress of INF Treaty *[Moscow International]* ..... 1
Missiles Leave Comiso Base for Destruction *[TASS]* ..... 1
Bogachev Notes Anniversary of Geneva Summit *[TASS]* ..... 1

**WORLDWIDE ISSUES**

Gorbachev, Reagan Awarded Peace Prize *[TASS]* ..... 2
NATO Assembly Session in Hamburg Analyzed *[Balebanov on TASS]* ..... 2
'International Panorama' Views Session *[Moscow TV]* ..... 3

**INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

**United States & Canada**

'Continuity' Catchword in Gorbachev U.S. Visit *[PRAVDA 18 Nov]* ..... 5
U.S.-Soviet Seminar on Human Rights Concludes ..... 5
Goal of Restructuring *[TASS]* ..... 5
Zagladin Reviews Seminar *[Moscow TV]* ..... 5
Dobrynin Receives Congressmen *[TASS]* ..... 6
Lukyanov Receives Congressmen *[TASS]* ..... 6
Human Rights Conference Ends *[TASS]* ..... 7

**China**

Li Peng Cited on 'Hope' for Normalizing Relations *[TASS]* ..... 7
Commentator on Li Peng Remarks *[Nikolayev on Moscow International]* ..... 8
Increasing PRC-Saudi Contact Disturbs Taiwan *[Moscow International]* ..... 8
Chinese Academy of Sciences Delegation Visits *[Moscow International]* ..... 9

**Northeast Asia**

Shevardnadze Receives DPRK Vice Foreign Minister *[PRAVDA 17 Nov]* ..... 9
Vlasov Holds Talks With DPRK's Kim Pok-sin *[Moscow TV]* ..... 9
Moves Toward Inter-Korean Dialogue Applauded *[Tikhomirov in PRAVDA 18 Nov]* ..... 9
Japanese Foreign Policy Blue Book Reviewed *[Moscow International]* ..... 10
Accord With Japan on Nizhnevartovsk Gas Project *[Moscow TV]* ..... 11
Soviet, Japanese Journalists Hold Conference *[Moscow International]* ..... 11
Secretary Slyunkov Receives Mongolia's Molomjamts *[PRAVDA 17 Nov]* ..... 11

**Near East & South Asia**

Further Reportage on Gorbachev Visit to India ..... 11
Gorbachev Activities Noted *[IZVESTIYA 20 Nov]* ..... 11
Gorbachev, Venkataraman Meet *[TASS]* ..... 12
Gorbachev-Gandhi Talks Held *[TASS]* ..... 12
Shevardnadze Meets Counterpart *[TASS]* ..... 12
Gorbachev Addresses Delhi Banquet *[PRAVDA 19 Nov]* ..... 13
Venkataraman Speech at Banquet *[PRAVDA 19 Nov]* ..... 15
Banquet Guests Listed *[PRAVDA 19 Nov]* ..... 17
Gorbachev Comments on Estonia *[PRAVDA 20 Nov]* ..... 17
Gorbachev Meets Journalists *[TASS]* ..... 18
Receives Gandhi Prize *[TASS]* ..... 19

Gorbachev Prize Ceremony Speech *[PRAVDA 20 Nov]* ..... 19
Shevardnadze Speaks at Ceremony *[PRAVDA 20 Nov]* ..... 21
Gorbachev Addresses USSR Festival *[PRAVDA 20 Nov]* ..... 21
Venkataraman Festival Speech *[PRAVDA 20 Nov]* ..... 22
Gorbachev, Gandhi Hold Talks *[PRAVDA 20 Nov]* ..... 23
2d Meeting on 19 Nov *[TASS]* ..... 24
Shevardnadze, Rao Meet *[TASS]* ..... 24
Agreements Signed *[PRAVDA 21 Nov]* ..... 24
Cultural Exchange Program Signed *[TASS]* ..... 25
Soviet-Indian Summit Statement *[PRAVDA 21 Nov]* ..... 25
3d Gandhi-Gorbachev Meeting *[TASS]* ..... 27
Gorbachev Meets Nyerere *[TASS]* ..... 28
Farewell Ceremony *[IZVESTIYA 21 Nov]* ..... 28
Further on Departure *[TASS]* ..... 29
Gorbachev Returns to Moscow *[Moscow Radio]* ..... 29
Gandhi on 'Improved' Relations *[TASS]* ..... 30
Gandhi Comments on Results *[Moscow TV]* ..... 30
Meeting With Indian Party Leaders *[TASS]* ..... 30
Meeting Honors Raisa Gorbacheva *[TASS]* ..... 31

**Sub-Saharan Africa**

'Major Breakthrough' Achieved on Namibia Issue *[PRAVDA 17 Nov]* ..... 31
Portuguese Beam Comments *[Potovskiy on Moscow International]* ..... 32
RSA To Seek Delay on Withdrawal From Angola *[Vasin in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 22 Oct]* ..... 32
Similarity Seen in RSA, Palestinian Situations *[Fedorov on Moscow International]* ..... 33

**East Europe**

Public Gatherings in Yugoslavia Reported *[Moscow Radio]* ..... 34
Yazov Ends Yugoslavia Trip, Returns to Moscow *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 18 Nov]* ..... 34
Soviet-Yugoslav Cooperation Talks Concluded *[TASS]* ..... 34
Group Protests Romanian Vilage Policy *[[]Budapest Radio[]]* ..... 35

**West Europe**

Bomb Damages Geneva Aeroflot Office 18 November *[TASS]* ..... 35
FRG Banker Cited on Cooperation With USSR *[IZVESTIYA 15 Nov]* ..... 35

**NATIONAL AFFAIRS**

**Political & Social**

Supsov Deputies Discuss 'Comments' on Draft Laws ..... 37
Razumovskiy: Crucial Step to Reform *[Moscow TV]* ..... 37
40 Clarifications Proposed *[IZVESTIYA 21 Nov]* ..... 38
Estonia's Ryuytel Meets Lukyanov *[Tallinn Radio]* ..... 39
Latvian Jurists Meet Lukyanov *[Riga Radio]* ..... 39
16 Nov Session on Output Quality *[IZVESTIYA 18 Nov]* ..... 40
Deputies View Estonian Decision *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 20 Nov]* ..... 41
Decision of Estonian Parliament Viewed ..... 42
Deputy Claims Pressure in Vote *[TASS]* ..... 42
Public Criticizes Decision *[Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 19 Nov]* ..... 43
Supsov Stand Analyzed *[Silins on TASS]* ..... 44
Moves at Odds With Constitution *[IZVESTIYA 19 Nov]* ..... 45
'Alarm' Expressed Over Session *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 18 Nov]* ..... 46
'Front' Group Hopes To See Gorbachev *[London DAILY TELEGRAPH 18 Nov]* ..... 47
'Opinion of Soviet People' *[TASS]* ..... 48
Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Discusses Drafts *[TASS]* ..... 48
Brazauskas, Others Address Session *[Vilnius International]* ..... 49
Autonomy Demand Rejected *[AFP]* ..... 50

10,000 Demonstrate 21 Nov *[Stockholm Radio]* ..... 51
Sajudis Spokesman on Protest *[Hamburg DPA]* ..... 51
DPA on Lithuanian Situation ..... 51
Political Trends Viewed *[TASS]* ..... 52
Baltic 'Link-up' Discussion ..... 53
Latvian Supsov Examines Amendments *[Riga Radio]* ..... 54
Rally Held; Supsov Opposes Drafts *[AFP]* ..... 54
Latvian Prosecutor on Discussion of Proposals *[PRAVDA 19 Nov]* ..... 55
Medvedev Criticism of Latvian 'Isolation' Cited *[Melnais on TASS]* ..... 57
Azeri Gets Death Sentence in Sumgait Trial *[AFP]* ..... 57
New Strike, Rallies in Yerevan Reported *[PRAVDA 19 Nov]* ..... 58
1 Million March *[AFP]* ..... 58
Baku: 'Unsanctioned' Construction Causes Concern ..... 59
Officials Consider Housing Problems *[Baku Radio]* ..... 59
Rally Questions Construction *[PRAVDA 21 Nov]* ..... 59
RSFSR Supreme Soviet on Estonia, Constitution *[TASS]* ..... 60
Uzbek, Tajik SSR's Supreme Soviets Meet *[Moscow Radio]* ..... 60
Discussion of Constitution Changes Viewed ..... 60
Analyst Notes Social Reaction *[Sizov on TASS]* ..... 60
AUCCTU Official on 'Suggestions' *[PRAVDA 18 Nov]* ..... 61
Ligachev, Baklanov at Defense Complex Ministries *[PRAVDA 19 Nov]* ..... 63
Youth Organization Chief Interviewed *[TASS]* ..... 64
Komsomol Central Committee Begins Fourth Plenum *[Moscow TV]* ..... 64
Plenum Participants Cited *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 18 Nov]* ..... 64
Plenum Ends 19 Nov *[TASS]* ..... 65

**Economic**

Ryzhkov, Slyunkov Attend Meeting of Ministers *[TASS]* ..... 66
Aganbegyan Reviews Results of Economic Reform *[Moscow International]* ..... 66
New Legislation on Pensions Being Formulated *[TASS]* ..... 67

**Military**

General Yazov Discusses Army Restructuring *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 18 Nov]* ..... 68

### Statistics Released on Progress of INF Treaty

*LD1911122688 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 19 Nov 88*

[Text] The Soviet Union has destroyed under the INF Treaty signed with the United States 385 nuclear missiles, including 63 SS-20's and 147 launchers. This data was released by the Moscow-based center for reducing the nuclear danger. In the meantime the United States eliminated 96 medium-range and shorter-range missiles and 17 launchers.

### Missiles Leave Comiso Base for Destruction

*LD1711183188 Moscow TASS in English 1546 GMT 17 Nov 88*

[Text] Rome November 17 TASS—The first 16 U.S. cruise missiles left the military base at Comiso, Sicily, today.

A convoy of truck tractors and lorries escorted by Italian police and carabineers brought them to a NATO airfield near the city of Sigonella. From there, the local news agency ANSA reports, the missiles will be airlifted to the United States and eliminated under the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty. So, 96 cruise missiles have now remained at Comiso.

"The removal of the first batch of U.S. medium-range missiles from Sicily inspires confidence in the irreversibility of the current process of relaxation of tension and disarmament", Salvatore Zago, a communist, the mayor of Comiso, told journalists. "We hope that in future the base will be converted to be used only for peaceful purposes".

The Soviet inspection group left Italy at noon today. It had arrived in Rome Sicily on Wednesday following its second visit to Comiso under the Soviet U.S. INF Treaty. Soviet inspectors had made their first visit to the U.S. base in August this year.

### Bogachev Notes Anniversary of Geneva Summit

*LD1811210688 Moscow TASS in English 1656 GMT 18 Nov 88*

[Text] Moscow November 18 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Bogachev:

Three years ago, on Nov. 19, 1985, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan went into a summit which marked the beginning of their dialogue on global security issues.

The meeting became possible first of all because both sides realized the world could not be let slide down any further toward nuclear catastrophe.

At watershed points in history, amid rising international tension, it becomes crucial to get clear the sides' positions and the nature of their disagreements and contradictions. In Geneva, these goals were to a certain degree achieved.

Although the leaders of the two great powers failed there and then to find solutions to the cardinal problems of stopping the arms race, their summit was unquestionably useful.

After the talks, they issued a joint statement saying that nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought and that seeking military superiority is inadmissible.

Special significance belonged to the Soviet-American accord to apply effort to prevent an arms race in outer space and put an end to the arms drive on earth.

The Geneva summit demonstrated, however, that it was still a long way to go before the two countries could reach satisfactory mutual understanding on the more important problems of war and peace.

Right after the negotiations some quarters in Washington took action to bring the positive results of the Geneva summit to nought.

The U.S. Administration declared its intention to quit the SALT-2 Treaty. A campaign was engineered to discredit the ABM Treaty. Conservatives in the United States began to argue that the sides' agreement to stave off an arms race in space should not affect the "Star Wars" program.

In that situation only a breakthrough could reverse the dangerous trend in Soviet-American relations. So the Soviet Union suggested an intermediate summit and the U.S. President accepted the idea.

The way was cleared first to the Reyjkavik meeting and then to the subsequent talks in Washington and Moscow, which ended, in particular, with the signature of the first-ever agreement really to destroy two classes of nuclear missiles.

The experience of Soviet-American dialogue at the highest level, which went under way in Geneva in 1985, shows that if each of the sides at talks sees its primary task not in winning unilateral military advantages but in a painstaking quest for common interests in dealing with global security problems, these efforts will be crowned with success without fail.

**Gorbachev, Reagan Awarded Peace Prize**
*LD2011172688 Moscow TASS in English 1349 GMT 20 Nov 88*

[Excerpt] San Francisco November 20 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Sidorin:

Representatives of the U.S. public at large and diplomatic missions from 31 countries took part in a gala meeting which was held here on the occasion of awarding the 1988 international peace prize of the organization "Beyond War" to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan. It is annually awarded to politicians and public figures, as well as to states, who/which made the most important contribution to the cause of strengthening peace and removing the war danger. The meeting held at one of the largest San Francisco concert halls, was telecast live via a satellite to over 100 U.S. and Canadian cities.

The official statement pointed out that this year's award was conferred on the Soviet and American leaders for their role in achieving positive changes in Soviet-American relations and strengthening the hope that the military threat to the world could be fully removed. The two leaders, pointed out Richard Rathbun, chairman of the organization "Beyond War", needed courage to overcome old prejudices and ideological rivalry for the sake of creating a new chance to ensure a lasting and stable peace.

Addressing the gathering, Soviet pilot cosmonaut Svetlana Savitskaya and U.S. astronaut Russell Schweickart noted that the summits between the Soviet and American leaders and the signing of the historic Treaty on Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles had been an important step on the road towards ensuring a peaceful future of the world. However, to guarantee a world without wars, they pointed out, people should understand collective repsonsibility for the earth's destiny and to treat it like a common and indivisible property.

The audience was shown a new documentary filmed by the organization "Beyond War." It includes interviews with several statesmen, prominent politicians and public figures, as well as with ordinary citizens of various countries. U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson and the former U.S. Defense Secretary Robert McNamara pointed to the extreme importance of further constructive development of Soviet-American relations and to the need for new agreements on reduction of nuclear weapons and collective efforts of all countries to strengthen international security. The film also reminded the audience of the historic time of signing the INF Treaty in Moscow.

The organization "Beyond War" unites different people: scientists, businessmen, politicians and public figures participating actively in the peace movement. It has branches in 40 out of 50 U.S. states and other countries. Winners of the organization's international prize in the past years include the Contadora Group countries and the movement International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War.

**NATO Assembly Session in Hamburg Analyzed**
*LD1911072288 Moscow TASS in English 1836 GMT 18 Nov 88*

[Text] Moscow November 18 TASS—TASS political news analyst Albert Balebanov writes:

A regular sesion of the North Atlantic Assembly, NATO's consultative parliamentary body, is being concluded in Hamburg. It was devoted to a discussion of a broad complex of matters of East-West relations in the light of the process of perestroyka in the USSR.

It is noteworthy that participants in the forum emphasised in their speeches the working out of additional confidence-building measures in relations with socialist countries. A number of documents adopted by the assembly proclaimed the need for intensification of a political dialogue, deepening of business relations, the West's pursuance of a more flexible trading and economic policy with regard to socialist countries. All this, undoubtedly, reflects the growing awareness in the West about the need for new thinking in international relations, consideration for the interests of the sides, mutual security, widening of mutually advantageous cooperation.

The fact that State Secretary of the Foreign Ministry of the Hungarian People's Republic Gyula Horn, representative of a member-country of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, addressed parliamentarians from the 16 NATO countries was a pleasant surprise. It was the first time in the history of the alliance that this forum was addressed by a representative of a Warsaw Treaty member-country. This afforded to members of the North Atlantic Assembly an opportunity to get first-hand information about the stance of socialist countries on matters of security and cooperation in Europe.

At the same time one cannot say that theses characteristic of the times of the cold war were not expressed at the session. A number of speakers called in question the sincerity of the Soviet Union's striving for mutually advantageous cooperation with the West, made groundless demands for unilateral disarmament of Warsaw Treaty countries, called for the build-up and modernization of NATO countries' arsenals of nuclear and conventional armaments.

In other words, the Hamburg forum mirrored all the present paradoxes of NATO approaches. On the one hand, there are voices in support of the Soviet-American

INF forces treaty, proposals for 50 per cent cuts in strategic offensive arms of the USSR and the USA. On the other hand, there are manifestations of the striving to clutch at nuclear weapons and rejection of the idea of creating a nuclear weapons-free Europe. The striving for "lower levels of armaments" was proclaimed, and at the same time the question of "compensations" and "additional arming" was raised. It was talked about positive changes in the USSR, but there were no manifestations of the wish for changes in NATO countries. All this reflects the attempts to preserve the morals and customs of the period of confrontation.

The resolutions endorsed by the session will be referred to the NATO headquarters in Brussels where the winter meetings of the leading military and political bodies of NATO at a ministerial level will be held early in December. Time will show if governments of NATO countries are able to discard stereotypes of thinking and realise that there must be military detente if East-West relations are to be normal, that the creation of a platform for joint actions, and not confrontation, would suit the requirements of the present.

### 'International Panorama' Views Session

*LD2011233088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1500 GMT 20 Nov 88*

[From the "International Panorama" program presented by Stanislav Kondrashov]

[Text] [Kondrashov] The NATO Assembly session which was held in Hamburg dealt with the same old question: What is to be done with East-West relations in light of the restructuring in the Soviet Union? The consensus is that restructuring is useful, as Helmut Kohl put it, but working out a joint policy is not limited to the definition of useful, of course. Many people in the West are now saying that NATO does not yet have a common policy, a new policy, with regard to the Soviet Union, and that this carries the threat of a sort of political disarmament in the face of the Soviet initiatives. Thatcher, incidentally, went to Washington with the idea of drawing up a new joint strategy by next summer, when the leaders of the NATO states are scheduled to hold a summit to mark the 40th anniversary of their union.

The Hamburg meeting is one of the factors in a complicated game of patience which the NATO leaders are presently laying out:

[Begin recording] [Vladimir Kondratyev] The square in front of the Hamburg city hall, a favorite place for the inhabitants and visitors of the city on the Elbe to stroll, looks unusually empty. The square has been blocked off by police detachments: The autumn session of the North Atlantic Assembly is under way. The assembly is a permanently operating body which is a sort of link between the parliaments of the 16 countries making up the Western alliance and the immediate NATO leadership.

The security measures here are effective, but everything is done unobtrusively and imperceptibly quickly. It is extremely easy for a journalist to work at the session. Accreditation takes just a few mintues; affable staff prepare a permit photograph in an instant with a Polaroid-type apparatus. There are no filming restrictions; one can film in any hall during the discussion and during breaks. The session organizers are concerned with ensuring that the session gets as much media coverage as possible. The alliance needs the support of public opinion more than ever.

Netherlander Ton Frinking, president of the current assembly, believes that NATO is currently facing a difficult problem: how, under conditions of improved West-East relations, to respond to the Soviet leadership's new international initiatives, which are a challenge for NATO, while at the same time ensuring that the NATO policy criteria for the 1990's do not lead to any loss of unity among the allies. [video shows Kondratyev interviewing unidentified man]

Over many years we have formed a stereotypical view of NATO as primarily a military-oriented organization. [video shows door of military commission, session in progress] But this is not so. If you read the participants' reports and listen to what is being said in the commissions, you come to the conclusion that there are few problems of interstate relations either within the bloc or in its foreign affairs which escape consideration, whether it be trade, technological exchanges, alternative energy sources, cooperation in space, terrorism, or many other matters. Under the conditions of the new approach to international affairs, one cannot close one's eyes to this.

However, while NATO is starting to study the processes taking place in our country on a solid base and is working out recommendations for stepping up dialogue with the socialist countries in various spheres, we are nevertheless interested first and foremost in NATO's attitude toward the fundamental issue of the all-European dialogue—the problem of peace and security. The military aspect of NATO policy occupied an important place at the assembly. A great deal was said about the Warsaw Pact's alleged overwhelming superiority in conventional weapons. The military men cautioned against any concessions by the West in this area. The Soviet Union should manifest its readiness to follow NATO's conceptions; if not, then modernization of the nuclear weapons which do not come under the USSR-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is used to blackmail us. The underlying opinion is that NATO's nuclear component should continue to be the pivotal point of the policy of deterrence, despite all the disarmament. The military does not want to reconcile itself to the loss of the ability to inflict a blow against the territory of the Soviet Union from the European Continent. [video shows maps and graphic representations of strategies in Europe; fighter aircraft flying]

Aircraft like the Tornado or the F-16 can, in principle, reach our country's border areas and inflict nuclear strikes. But this is regarded as insufficient. According to NATO intelligence data, Soviet air defense has been further strengthened, and the success of a nuclear strike from the air using the means available cannot be fully guaranteed. The answer is seen in equipping the aircraft with air-to-ground missiles. These can be launched even before direct contact with a potential enemy's air defense. These weapons are designed to fulfill the same functions as the Pershings, which are now being destroyed, but do not come under the terms of the Soviet-U.S. treaty insofar as it only bans surface-launched missiles. NATO cabinets are also envisaging deploying the new missiles in the Federal Republic.

Alfred Mechtersheimer, Bundestag member and Greens Party expert on security, said that NATO agreed, with much gritting of teeth, to the destruction of the Pershings but refused to abandon the strategy of threatening a potential aggressor with nuclear means. [video shows Kondratyev interviewing unidentified man in lobby] The one for whom the threat is intended should make efforts to avert it. The Soviet Union is thus compelled to preserve its nuclear weapons, in this case its means of striking against airstrips.

The representative of the Greens, a party which does not count for much here—if the truth be told—is not the only one who thinks like this. This is also the view of more influential circles: the Free Democratic Party, for instance, in which many tend to take up positions held by Genscher, one of the FDP leaders. [video shows press crowding FRG leaders for pictures and interviews]

According to the FRG Constitution, the chancellor has the last word, so the right-wingers are now trying to bring him into conflict with the foreign minister, alleging that the latter is interfering in others' areas of competence.

The Hamburg meeting showed that NATO is presently facing one of the most crucial decisions of its almost 40-year history. It is not easy for it to formulate its future policy when the cultivated image of the enemy—the image of an aggressive Soviet Union—is increasingly on the wane.

A question to Manfred Woerner, NATO secretary general: How does he envisage this policy in the sphere of nuclear and conventional weapons? [video shows Kondratyev interviewing Woerner in reception room] We are oriented towards defensive alliances, and we only want to have the minimum of weapons necessary for our own security. That is why in recent years we have unilaterally rejected 2,400 nuclear warheads. What we have as a minimum, however, we want to keep in working condition, so that our defensive conception remains reliable, in the same way the Soviet Union does. We also, incidentally, put hope in disarmament, particularly regarding conventional weapons. Here we expect the Soviet Union to fulfill General Secretary Gorbachev's promise, that is, a change in the structure of the armed forces. The West has acted in precisely this way, creating a defensive structure for the army with a small quantity of weapons.

If everything were as the NATO secretary general asserts, however, everyone here would share this opinion. [video shows NATO session in progress] But there are politicians, to say nothing of the peace movement, who regard such peace-making statements as demagogic. Many simply cannot understand why, in the face of global changes in public opinion, it is necessary to draw up some sort of new strategy to counterbalance the disarmament policy being conducted by the Soviet Union. For it is important to come to a single strategy: herein, indeed, is the meaning of the new thinking, which assumes that security is created not separately, but together. [end recording]

[Kondrashov] One can predict without fear of mistake that the modernization of the remaining U.S. and NATO nuclear weapons in Europe will be one of the most acute issues in the very near future. The West is hardly likely to repudiate this element of the strategy of deterrence until the talks on reducing conventional armed forces and armaments in Europe start going well and produce the first tangible results. The start of the talks, however, depends on the results of the Vienna meeting, which in turn is still overcoming the last obstacles—obstacles in the humanitarian sphere—to a successful conclusion. Thus one cog has to click into the second, the second into the third, for the whole mechanism of East-West interaction to progress further.

It should be pointed out at the same time that our partners are demanding more openness from the Soviet Union in the military sphere, as well as practical evidence that we are moving over to the doctrine of nonoffensive defense.

## United States & Canada

### 'Continuity' Catchword in Gorbachev U.S. Visit

*PM1811141588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Nov 88 Second Edition p 7*

[Own correspondent V. Gan report: "The Talk Will Be of Continuity"]

[Text] Washington, 17 Nov—The state of political excitement that has prevailed in Washington since the presidential elections has been given a new boost. In the U.S. capital you can find a mass of commentaries, predictions, and conjecture connected with the news that M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, is to visit the United States at the beginning of December. The Soviet leader is expected to make a speech to the United Nations and meet with President R. Reagan and his successor, G. Bush.

A statement made by White House spokesman M. Fitzwater is highly typical. The talk, he said, would center on "the continuity and continuation of relations."

Fitzwater referred to the four Soviet-U.S. summit dialogues, which "initiated a new course in the spheres of arms control and bilateral relations." According to him, the December meeting is expected to help "smooth" the transfer of power from the Reagan administration to the Bush administration.

The word "continuity" is generally used a great deal. No one, of course, thinks to underestimate the importance of the differences and problems in relations between the USSR and the United States. But it is also true that no one—with the possible exception of the far right—supports any letup in the Soviet-U.S. dialogue or in the consolidation of the progress already made in normalizing relations. In fact, the forthcoming meeting is seen as confirmation of this fact, as it is a meeting which, in the words of one U.S. television company, will help to clarify the sides' positions. Answering a correspondent's question concerning Bush's involvement in the meeting with M.S. Gorbachev, President Reagan said: "As far as I am concerned, given the circumstances he should be present."

### U.S.-Soviet Seminar on Human Rights Concludes

#### Goal of Restructuring

*LD1811180488 Moscow TASS in English 1732 GMT 18 Nov 88*

[Text] Moscow November 18 TASS—A Soviet-American seminar on humanitarian cooperation and human rights, held by parliamentarians from the two countries, ended today with a news conference at which representatives of the Soviet Union and the United States acknowledged the usefulness, frankness and constructiveness of the Moscow meeting.

That dialogue could have taken place only thanks to historic changes in the Soviet Union, positive shifts in Soviet-American relations and an improved international climate on the whole, said Vadim Zagladin, secretary of the Foreign Affairs Commission at the Council of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet (Parliament) and adviser to the president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

He emphasized that the solution of the human rights problem was a goal of the USSR's perestroyka policy.

The Soviet parliamentarian observed that the discussions held during the seminar turned into an interested dialogue and were not confrontational in character.

He expressed the view that depsite all differences in the Soviet and American social systems, the sides were tackling similar problems in the field of human rights, which made the exchange of experience held in Moscow especially useful.

Zagladin announced in this connection that the sides had agreed to conduct a comparative analysis of the legislative acts related to human rights in the USSR and the United States.

"Of course, the opinions expressed by the participants in the seminar diverged, but that did not hamper a constructive discussion. Only ten years ago this might have caused a quarrel," he remarked. Congressman Steny Hoyer, replying to questions, said that the Moscow seminar started regular contacts between Soviet and American parliamentarians to discuss human rights issues.

He stressed interrelationship between the problem of human rights and problems of political and economic relations between the USSR and the United States.

In his opinion, the dialogue would help take a decision on U.S. participation in a conference on humanitarian cooperation which the Soviet Union suggested holding in Moscow.

#### Zagladin Reviews Seminar

*LD1911052588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1543 GMT 18 Nov 88*

[From "The World Today" program presented by Valentin Dvinin]

[Text] [Dvinin] Questions of relations between East and West were also examined at the Soviet-U.S. interparliamentary seminar on humanitarian cooperation and human rights which ended in Moscow today. Here is a report about this by our correspondent Sergey Pustovoyte.

[Begin recording] [Pustovoyte] Taking part in the meeting were USSR Supreme Soviet deputies, congressmen and senators from the United States, and representatives of the public. Soviet and U.S. parliamentarians discussed specific problems which it is necessary to resolve in the sphere of humanitarian cooperation and human rights. After the meeting I saw the leader of the Soviet delegation, the secretary of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet Vadim Valentinovich Zagladin. [video shows Pustovoyte talking to Zagladin in empty corridor] Vadim Valentinovich, this is the first seminar of its kind. Tell us, please, what has it been possible to achieve as a result?

[Zagladin] It seems to me that it was very interesting, first of all. Indeed, this is the first seminar. Perhaps it is unfortunate that it is the first. But, on the other hand, previously it would have been difficult to hold it because time was needed in order, you could say, for both sides to get used to discussing this problem.

Well, what can be said? The discussions went ahead this time in a nonconfrontational manner. On both sides some concerns were voiced, and questions were asked. In one of the working groups, for instance, the following interesting thought cropped up: What if a comparative study were to be made of the legislations of both countries in this sphere? And both sides supported this matter.

Of course, there were critical moments in the discussion. There were some failures to understand one another, more, perhaps, from the U.S. side, but nevertheless, it is not this that is the main thing. The main thing is that there was a striving to understand one another and to arrive at some conclusions. One of these conclusions—in my view, a very important one—is that human rights is one of the main components of the general problem of trust, peace, and security.

[Pustovoyte] Were specific steps in further overcoming obstacles to cooperation in the humanitarian sphere between the Soviet Union and the United States discussed?

[Zagladin] Absolutely; such steps were discussed. At once, from the first statements both sides said: We want to turn this sphere into a sphere of cooperation, both of cooperation between our two countries and of cooperation in the international arena. And there are possibilities for this. On the other hand, specific steps were outlined in order to develop more contacts between us. Well, for example, we proposed the following: We have now exchanged such seminars, we conducted a seminar. We will afterwards hold such a seminar in Washington and then, probably, once more in Moscow. But perhaps we will organize other things—organize a hearing. Two or three U.S. congressmen come here; they tell our deputies about human rights problems in the United States; a discussion takes place. Our deputies travel there; a similar hearing is held. We have proposed that a few confidence-building measures in this sphere be implemented. Well, say, some questions, some alarms crop up on one side or the other. One or two deputies travel to the other side to investigate on the spot. Perhaps they will not resolve everything. Not all concerns will end, but the climate will be entirely different. This will contribute to the resolution by each side of problems which arise. [end recording]

### Dobrynin Receives Congressmen

*LD1711211088 Moscow TASS in English 1958 GMT 17 Nov 88*

[Text] Moscow November 17 TASS—Anatoliy Dobrynin, chairman of the Foreign Relations Commission of the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, had a conversation here today with Congressman Steny Hoyer and Senator Dennis Deconcini, co-chairmen of the commission of U.S. Congress on security and cooperation in Europe.

They expressed mutual satisfaction over the work in Moscow of a Soviet-American interparliamentary seminar in humanitarian cooperation and human rights. It was deemed expedient to continue to hold such seminars.

Participants in the conversation discussed the Vienna meeting of representatives of countries—participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, as well as consultations held by 23 Warsaw Treaty member states and NATO countries. It was pointed out that perceptible progress had been achieved there. At the same time, it was stated that the few problems that remain unresolved are hampering the successful completion of this extensive work which could be finished by the end of the current year by joint efforts of the parties concerned. The sides expressed hope that agreement on those problems would be reached.

### Lukyanov Receives Congressmen

*LD1911072888 Moscow TASS in English 2000 GMT 18 Nov 88*

[Text] Moscow November 18 TASS—Anatoliy Lukyanov, alternate member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and first vice-president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, received in the Kremlin today a group of U.S. congressmen.

The congressmen, led by representative Steny Hoyer and Senator Dennis Deconcini, co-chairmen of the Congressional Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, took part in a Soviet-American inter-parliamentary seminar on humanitarian cooperation and human rights.

In a conversation that was held in a frank and business-like atmosphere, Lukyanov described the reform of the political system in the Soviet Union.

The congressmen evinced great interest in the information about the efforts undertaken by the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the USSR in this direction and the course of the nationwide discussion of amendments and changes to the USSR Constitution.

It was noted that democratization, glasnost and consolidation of human rights guarantees in the country not only met the international requirements of present-day Soviet society, but also filled with a new content the discussion of humanitarian problems on a global scale.

The favorable influence of new political thinking on the world situation opened up prospects for settling many complicated problems that only recently had been considered impossible to resolve.

Stressed during the meeting was the great importance of the future Soviet-American summit for the consolidation of the course towards improving relations between the USSR and the United States and deepening mutualy beneficial cooperation in various fields.

Attention was paid to the significance of the development of Soviet-American political dialogue on a broad range of issues and at other levels, including meetings and exchanges of views between parliamentarians from the two countries.

Both sides observed that a constructive, unbiased discussion of humanitarian issues, including at inter-parliamentary seminars, would facilitate the overall improvement of the climate of Soviet-American relations and deepen mutual understanding and growth of their trust in each other.

Lukyanov replied to questions by American legislators on various aspects of the process of democratization in Soviet society.

### Human Rights Conference Ends

*LD1811225788 Moscow TASS in English 1501 GMT 18 Nov 88*

[Text] Moscow November 18 TASS—Deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet (Parliament) and U.S. Congressmen have ended their first seminar in Moscow on humanitarian cooperation and human rights. Speaking at the final session in the Kremlin today, U.S. Congressman Dennis Deconcini described the Moscow meeting as fruitful and said that it had helped to bring the differing stances on human rights closer together.

The sides unanimously agreed that the atmosphere of frankness and openness, as well as the desire to understand each other had made the results of the seminar positive.

At the same time, USSR Supreme Soviet Deputy Ivan Laptev said that the sides still had differences over some issues.

The U.S. Congressmen places special emphasis on Soviet restrictions on foreign travel, especially for citizens knowing state secrets. The Soviet side explained frankly and honestly its approach to this problem. Vasiliy Trushin, USSR first deputy minister of interior, admitted there were difficulties in this field and said that the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet was going to analyze the reasons for these restrictions and assess their legitimacy.

At the same time, Soviet MPs voiced concern over the fact that thousands of Soviet citizens had for many years been prevented from reuniting with their American relatives. Despite the fact that their exit papers have been drawn up in full compliance with the Helsinki final act, the U.S. Embassy in Moscow refuses to grant them entrance visas, justifying this refusal by pointing to firmly fixed entrance quotas.

The seminar was closed by Vadim Zagladin, secretary of the foreign affairs commission of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet and adviser to the president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. He shared the opinion of Steny Hoyer, head of the U.S. delegation, that the dialogue should be continued.

"Human rights is one of the most important contemporary problems whose solution could promote trust among nations and strengthen international security and world peace."

## China

### Li Peng Cited on 'Hope' for Normalizing Relations

*LD2011090588 Moscow TASS in English 0854 GMT 20 Nov 88*

[Text] Canberra November 20 TASS—By TASS correspondent Aleksey Voronin:

Li Peng, premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, has ended his visit to Australia.

In Canberra the Chinese leader held negotiations with Australia's Prime Minister Robert Hawke and other officials. He visited Sydney, Melbourne, Perth, went to see the construction site of a joint Australian-Chinese enterprise: a major iron ore mining complex, Western Australia.

The two sides signed agreements on the prevention of double taxation in trade and economic cooperation between Australia and the People's Republic of China

and on giving China temporary fishing rights in Australia's coastal waters. In Melbourne scientists of the two countries concluded a five-year agreement on an exchange of technologies linked with exploration and use of outer space.

Australia will act as mediator in the restoration of diplomatic relations between the People's Republic of China and Indonesia, broken off in 1965, said the Australian prime minister.

Answering journalists' questions at the National Press Club, Li Peng expressed the hope for an early normalisation and development of friendly relations with the Soviet Union, underlining, however, that they would not be as close as in the 1950's.

In a speech, made at an official dinner in honour of the premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, Robert Hawke welcomed the improvement of the Soviet-Chinese relations.

Li Peng left Australia for New Zealand earlier today.

### Commentator on Li Peng Remarks

*OW2011174688 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 20 Nov 88*

[Text] While meeting reporters at Canberra's National News Club, Chinese Premier Li Peng said: We hope to normalize Sino-Soviet relations as soon as possible on the basis of the five basic principles. Station commentator Nikolayev comments:

Premier Li Peng's statement very clearly shows, as does the entire development of Soviet-Chinese relations in recent years, that the period of estrangement in Soviet-Chinese relations is gone forever. Our relations are characterized by smoothness and ever-expanding trust. This has created conditions for new and important steps to promote mutually beneficial cooperation.

China's foreign minister will visit Moscow in early December to meet and hold talks with his Soviet counterpart. This is one of the major steps we have longed for. The two foreign ministers will discuss preparations for a Soviet-Chinese summit. The reforms pursued by both countries have opened broad prospects for all-around Soviet-Chinese cooperation. We have taken a keen interest in China's reform and have closely watched the process of reform taking place in our own country and in China. Although each has its own special characteristics, the reforms are in general similar in that they both are aimed at reinforcing socialism. It is obvious that an exchange of experience in these reforms is of great benefit to each other. We believe both sides can learn from each other things that are of mutual benefit.

In his talks in Canberra, Premier Li Peng pointed out that China needs an international environment of stability and peace. The Soviet Union welcomes the constructive role played by China in international affairs, and believes China's constructive attitude is a key factor contributing to international and regional security. It is important to point out here that the two countries will gradually expand cooperation on international issues on which both sides hold identical views. Of course, this does not mean that both sides have to hold identical positions or views on all international issues. Both the Soviet Union and China hope to promote international contacts by way of dialogue.

We know that the other countries are closely watching the development of Soviet-Chinese relations. Some activists and public media in the West are attempting to prove that normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations will affect the relations of both the Soviet Union and China with the capitalist world.

Premier Li Peng emphatically pointed out in Canberra: The development of Soviet-Chinese relations will in no way affect China's relations with Western nations. The Soviet Union has also repeatedly stated that our country will not let the improvement of Soviet-Chinese relations complicate the two countries' relations with other countries.

The Soviet Union's principled policy for developing relations with China is that a fundamental improvement of relations with China should be in keeping with the interests of the Soviet and Chinese peoples and the socialist cause, and be conducive to strengthening peace and stability in Asia and the whole world.

### Increasing PRC-Saudi Contact Disturbs Taiwan

*OW2111073388 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 17 Nov 88*

[Commentary by station observer (Glevnov)]

[Text] Reports of increased contacts between Saudi Arabia and China have deeply disturbed the Taipei authorities. The heart of the matter is that Saudi Arabia is one of the 22 nations that still recognizes the Taipei regime. If Saudi Arabia establishes diplomatic relations with China, then it will certainly have to sever its diplomatic ties with Taipei. The following is a commentary by our station observer (Glevnov):

Last weekend, China and Saudi Arabia signed an agreement to exchange trade representative offices in Beijing and Riyadh. Leaders in the Taipei regime's Foreign Ministry immediately summoned Saudi Arabian Ambassador As'ad 'Abd al-Aziz al-Zuhayr and expressed their grave concern. In mid-October, a special envoy of the Saudi king visited Beijing. He met with Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, and presented to him a letter from the Saudi king. During the talks, China and Saudi Arabia indicated that they would

strengthen their cooperation. According to foreign press reports, Saudi Arabia plans to abandon Taiwan in favor of establishing diplomatic relations with China. The reports also noted that the agreement on missile sales to Saudi Arabia signed not long ago was an important move on the part of the Riyadh authorities toward official recognition of the PRC Government.

Meanwhile, faced with the possibility of losing diplomatic recognition of an influential country in the Middle East, some in the Taiwan ruling clique have called for implementing a flexible foreign policy. A [Taiwan] China News Agency commentary on Monday discussed the merits and demerits of so-called dual recognition. So far, the Taiwan authorities have severed diplomatic ties with all nations that have diplomatic relations with the PRC. Some people in Taiwan today believe that it would not be a bad idea to maintain diplomatic ties with nations that have decided to recognize the PRC Government. However, it depends on what stand other nations take on this matter. In my opinion, Beijing will resolutely oppose such a policy.

### Chinese Academy of Sciences Delegation Visits

*OW2111000888 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 19 Nov 88*

[Text] A Chinese Academy of Sciences delegation, headed by Sun Honglie, vice president of the academy, is visiting Moscow at the invitation of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The main purpose of the visit is to work out and sign a science cooperation agreement between the two academies. Besides this, the Chinese delegation will acquaint itself with the work of major scientific research institutes in our country. The delegation will also visit Leningrad, Kiev, and Tbilisi. The science cooperation agreement is expected to be signed in early December.

## Northeast Asia

### Shevardnadze Receives DPRK Vice Foreign Minister

*PM1711114588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report on Shevardnadze's 16 November Moscow meeting with DPRK Deputy Foreign Minister Yi In-kyu, under the general heading "Meetings at the USSR Foreign Ministry"]

[Text] On 16 November E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and Soviet foreign minister, received Yi In-kyu, deputy foreign minister of Korea, staying in Moscow on a visit as head of a delegation of the Foreign Ministry of People's Korea.

The sides discussed urgent questions of developing further bilateral relations and expanding interaction between the two countries in the international arena.

Eduard Shevardnadze called the attention of the Korean deputy foreign minister to the main provisions of Mikhail Gorbachev's speech in Krasnoyarsk, which proposed an extensive program of practical actions aimed at setting up mutually advantageous cooperation among all Asian states. Yi In-kyu said that People's Korea fully backed Soviet steps aimed at preventing a nuclear war and strengthening peace all over the world.

In the opinion of the Soviet side the initiatives put forth by People's Korea on November 7, which provide for cutting the armed forces of the north and south with a simultaneous stage-by-stage withdrawal of U.S troops and nuclear weapons from South Korea, along with other constructive measures, could be sound ground for a dialogue on questions of detente in the Korean Peninsula. Their realization would contribute both to a peaceful unification of Korea and a lower level of military confrontation in the Asia-Pacific region.

The talks were held in a warm, comradely atmosphere.

### Vlasov Holds Talks With DPRK's Kim Pok-sin

*LD1811142388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 17 Nov 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrade Vlasov today received Kim Pok-sin, candidate member of the Workers' Party of Korea Central Committee Politburo, deputy premier of the DPRK Administration Council, chairman of the Korean section of the Soviet-Korean intergovernmental commission on economic and scientific-technical cooperation, and chairman of the committee for light industry of the DPRK. They discussed the state of and prospects for cooperation between the RSFSR and Korean light industry organizations and enterprises, and regional cooperation in areas of the Far East.

### Moves Toward Inter-Korean Dialogue Applauded

*PM1811141388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Nov 88 Second Edition p 7*

[Sergey Tikhomirov "Viewpoint": "Shattered 'Mirror'"]

[Text] They say that a shattered mirror brings bad luck to two lovers. Only two. But how much grief has the division of Korea brought to the entire nation populating the country? The unit for measuring the suffering of divided families has not been invented. Is it possible to measure such suffering, when we are talking about millions of people being involved?...

The search for the formula that will reunite Korea and turn the peninsula into a nuclear-free peace zone has not ceased for several decades now, both to the north and south of the 38th parallel, which divides the country into two parts. Over the years the positions of the sides involved in the inter-Korean dialogue have drawn together and then moved apart again. I believe there

have been more than enough reasons for this, both objective and subjective. But a characteristic feature is that recently—I would even say in recent months—the knot of inter-Korean differences has gradually begun to weaken.

The reasons? There are several. One of them, possibly the most important, was very graphically described recently by the Japanese newspaper MAINICHI DAILY NEWS. It wrote that "the currents of international politics washing the Korean peninsula have begun to rapidly change their direction." In other words, if I have understood the metaphor of my Japanese colleagues correctly, it is now possible to talk of the favorable impact the general warming of the international climate has had on the political weather in and around Korea. And this, as is well known, has become possible as a result of the improvement across the entire spectrum of Soviet-U.S. relations, and particularly with regard to the dialogue on regional problems.

There is more. The Soviet Union's Krasnoyarsk initiatives have prompted a positive response in many of the world's capitals, and in Asia as well. Although actually, in my opinion, no other reaction was expected—at least not as far as sober-minded politicians are concerned. After all, it is not a question of some race for laurels in the propaganda stakes, but a sincere attempt by Moscow to advance the cause of general Asian security.

It is gratifying that we are not alone in this. Several days ago, for example, a joint session in Pyongyang of the DPRK Central People's Committee, the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly, and the State Administration Council proposed some peace initiatives. In particular, they envisage a reduction in the armed forces of both North and South with the simultaneous phased withdrawal of American troops and nuclear weapons from South Korea. Pyongyang also believes that in order to reduce tension between North and South, high-level military-political talks should be held between them in the middle of December. A successful conclusion to trilateral talks (with the United States taking part) and military-political talks would make it possible to organize a summit meeting, at which it is proposed to discuss such problems as adopting a declaration of nonaggression and forming a democratic confederate republic of Korea.

On 17 November Pyongyang reported that DPRK and South Korean representatives had managed to bring their positions considerably closer with regard to the question of convening a forum of the two countries' parliamentarians, at which it is proposed to discuss the issues of safeguarding peace, building cooperation, and organizing exchanges between North and South. They have reached agreement that the opening of this forum in Pyongyang and its conclusion in Seoul will be organized as a joint session of parliamentarians from North and South. At the same time, a series of issues concerning the way the forum will be conducted and what will be on its agenda are still unresolved....

I believe that a reasonable compromise could lead to tangible mutual benefit. And even if the DPRK and South Korea have to travel "1,000 leagues" before they reach mutual understanding, it is the first step that is so important, the step to meet each other halfway, which could also become a step toward uniting this divided nation.

### Japanese Foreign Policy Blue Book Reviewed

*OW1711053388 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 14 Nov 88*

[Commentary by Tokyo Correspondent Potapov]

[Text] The Japanese Government has adopted the annual Foreign Policy Blue Book. Radio Moscow correspondent in Tokyo Potapov filed the following report:

The current Foreign Policy Blue Book's main theme is to emphasize the inevitability of Japan's assuming a more active political role commensurate with its economic power. The authors of this Blue Book, which runs to 500 pages, believe that Japan must first play this role, based on a clear definition of its position as a member of the Western camp and of the Asia and Pacific region. Relations with the United States were specifically stressed as the cornerstone of Japan's foreign relations. Noble expressions, such as that Japan bears great responsibility in keeping peace and maintaining stability in Asia and other regions, are found everywhere.

However, the authors of this Blue Book regard the way to achieving these aims as being, among other things, a buildup of the combat power of the Self-Defense Force. On the other hand, that Japan will never become a military power, that it will attach great importance to the three nonnuclear principles and persist in a purely defensive posture, are themes being extolled even today. Unfortunately the real significance of the conservative Government's military buildup illustrates that such declarations do not square with the facts. Soviet foreign policy is also ignored in the Blue Book. Ignoring all the facts, the authors of the Foreign Policy Blue Book simply mouth demagogy. That is, they claim that there has not been any real change in Soviet foreign policy, and that the USSR has remained unchanged in pursuing the expansion of its presence and power in the military, political, and economic spheres.

Lastly, the Blue Book touches on Soviet-Japanese relations. Yet in what way? The paper points out that the strengthening and expansion of dialogue between the two countries is indispensable for improvement of bilateral relations. However, it does not say a word on the fact that the USSR welcomes any step to this end. There is

also no mention whatsoever of the proposals for developing Soviet-Japanese relations presented by Soviet leader Gorbachev at Krasnoyarsk.

Soviet leaders have stressed that they are in favor of developing relations with Japan on the basis of good-neighborliness and cooperation. This means that relations should be premised on mutual friendship. Unfortunately, thus far, Japan has not shown any willingness to promote mutual understanding.

### Accord With Japan on Nizhnevartovsk Gas Project

*OW1711044088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2220 GMT 14 Nov 88*

[From the Novosti Newscast; Ye. Blokhin Video report]

[Text] The USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry and Japan's Mitsubishi Corporation have concluded an agreement on establishing a joint enterprise.

[Blokhin] A major step in overcoming the mismanagement of our natural wealth—this was the first reaction to this contract. Billions of cubic meters of casing-head gas, which is currently being burned off uselessly, will serve as raw material for the production of polymer materials. They are essential in a variety of branches in industry. Modern mechanical engineering would be impossible without them. [video shows Soviet and Japanese officials sitting at desk facing an auditorium; nameplate identifies Yu.A. Bespalov, Soviet minister of the chemical industry, who is shown signing a document; U.S. and Japanese Flags can be seen on the wall behind the officials]

Fifteen plants will be built in the Nizhnevartovsk region during the next two 5-year plan periods. The overall cost of the project is $5 billion. Besides Mitsubishi Corporation, American companies will also take part in the joint enterprise. The question of which companies is presently under discussion. From the remarks made by participants in the press conference, it became clear that the contract is profitable in all respects. However, what price will have to be paid by the people of Tyumen Oblast? After all, we must look at the ecological consequences of construction of the new chemical industry giant. [video shows Bespalov speaking to people in the auditorium]

[Begin Bespalov recording] We shall set down conditions for these technological companies, so that all waste gasses are fully utilized, so that no chemically-contaminated water is discharged, and so that closed-circuit systems will be set up. There will be both chemical and biological methods for purifying these chemically contaminated waters. In other words, with this technology, there should be no solid wastes, and if they are produced, the aim will be to recycle them as raw material. This is our principled position. [end recording]

### Soviet, Japanese Journalists Hold Conference

*OW1611151888 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 15 Nov 88*

[From "Friendship and Good-Neighborliness" program]

[Text] A roundtable conference by Soviet and Japanese journalists, sponsored by the Soviet press agency NOVOSTI and an influential Japanese newspaper, is now in progress in Moscow.

Participating in the conference from the Soviet side are: NOVOSTI Deputy Board Chairman Khachaturov, deputy chief editor Bandura of MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, commentator (Bakusin) of the RED STAR, commentator (Melayev) of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, and others.

Representing Soviet television and radio media is Levin, Japanese Section chief of RADIO MOSCOW.

Meanwhile, participating in it from the Japanese side are political commentators from KYODO News Service, ASAHI SHIMBUN, MAINICHI SHIMBUN, SANKEI SHIMBUN, TOKYO SHIMBUN, NIKKEI SHIMBUN, HOKKAIDO SHIMBUN, and NHK Television.

### Secretary Slyunkov Receives Mongolia's Molomjamts

*PM1811141988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4*

[[TASS report: "Talks at CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] On 16 November N.N. Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met with an MPRP delegation headed by D. Molomjamts, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MPRP Central Committee, which is in the Soviet Union in accordance with the plan of CPSU-MPRP ties.

There was an exchange of information on CPSU and MPRP activity in realizing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, and the 19th MPRP congress in the sphere of socioeconomic development and on urgent questions of further deepening all-around Soviet-Mongolian cooperation.

## Near East & South Asia

### Further Reportage on Gorbachev Visit to India

#### Gorbachev Activities Noted

*PM2111094388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Nov 88 Morning Edition pp 1-2*

[Unnamed TASS special correspondent report: "Relations Between the USSR and India Are Gathering Strength"]

[Excerpts] Delhi, 18 Nov—M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, arrived in Delhi today on an official friendly visit at the Indian leadership's invitation. [passage omitted]

The group of journalists who are here asked the Soviet leader to share his initial impressions on arrival in India.

M.S. Gorbachev: As always, journalists are in a hurry—after all, I have still not met the president. I can only say that I am very happy to be in India again. I was touched again by the welcome we were given here. It therefore seems to me that this visit—at least we all hope so—will be yet another major step in the development of our relations, which we value and highly appreciate. [end Gorbachev]

Following the conclusion of the ceremony, the distinguished Soviet guests made their way to the residence situated in the presidential palace.

M.S. Gorbachev later called on President R. Venkataraman. They had a warm and cordial conversation.

On the same day, Indian Vice President Sh.D. Sharma called on M.S. Gorbachev at his residence.

All Indian newspapers today publish abundant material devoted to the Soviet leader's current visit to Delhi and relations between the two countries. The central newspaper NATIONAL HERALD carries across a full page, in Russian, the headline: "Welcome, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, Architect of Peace All Over the World!" The press notes that the 2d anniversary of the signing of the Delhi Declaration which, as the Bombay FREE PRESS JOURNAL emphasizes, reflected the aspirations of peoples all over the world and inspired new hopes for mankind's deliverance from the threat of nuclear catastrophe, falls in a few days. [passage omitted]

### Gorbachev, Venkataraman Meet

*LD1811154488 Moscow TASS in English 1523 GMT 18 Nov 88*

[Text] New Delhi November 18 TASS—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev who arrived in the Indian capital today for an official friendly visit at the invitation of the Indian leadership has paid a visit to the Indian president, Ramaswami Venkataraman.

They held a warm cordial conversation.

On the same day the Indian vice-president, Shankar Dayal Sharma, paid a visit to Gorbachev at his residence.

### Gorbachev-Gandhi Talks Held

*LD1811162688 Moscow TASS In English 1554 GMT 18 Nov 88*

[Text] New Delhi November 18 TASS—Shortly after his arrival in New Delhi today, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev had a face-to-face meeting with Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in the presidential palace.

The two leaders pointed to the fundamental significance of regular Soviet-Indian summits both for relations between the two countries and for entire international development.

They held a substantive exchange of views and experience on problems handled in the process of perestroyka, or restructuring, in the Soviet Union and the changes carried out by the Indian Government.

The interlocutors measured these mutual considerations against tasks of continued bilateral political, economic, scientific and technological cooperation.

Gorbachev and Gandhi began the discussion of the world situation and world politics. They paid attention tot he crucial character of global changes, that demanded special responsibility from all political forces working in favour of improving international relations.

They stressed the importance of the joint contribution made by India and the Soviet Union to deepening and expanding positive processes in the world in the spirit of the ideas and philosophy of the 1986 Delhi Declaration.

The exchange of views on these and other issues will be continued in the next meeting.

### Shevardnadze Meets Counterpart

*LD1811163088 Moscow TASS in English 1544 GMT 18 Nov 88*

[Text] New Delhi November 18 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and the USSR foreign minister, and Narasimha Rao, minister for external affairs of India, had a conversation today within the framework of the Soviet-Indian talks held during the official friendly visit of Mikhail Gorbachev to India.

Eduard Shevardnadze and Narasimha Rao pointed out the tremendous importance of the Soviet-Indian summit. They share the opinion that the agreements reached in New Delhi turn the meeting into a landmark event both in bilateral and international relations.

Both sides expressed readiness to act in the interests of building up the potential of friendship and understanding between the two countries, consolidating their versatile cooperation and deepening their cooperation in the sphere of world politics.

They had a profound exchange of views on some key international problems and regional conflicts which evoke the concern of the world community.

On behalf of the Soviet Government Shevardnadze invited Narasimha Rao to pay an official visit to the USSR early next year. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

## Gorbachev Addresses Delhi Banquet

*PM2111144188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
*19 Nov 88 Second Edition p 2*

[TASS report under the general heading: "Relations Between the USSR and India Are Gathering Strength" on the speech by M.S. Gorbachev at an 18 November Delhi dinner given by Indian President R. Venkataraman]

[Text] New Delhi, 18 Nov—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the USSR Suspreme Soviet Presidium, spoke today at a dinner hosted by the president of India. The Soviet leader said:

Esteemed Mr President,

Esteemed Mr Prime Minister,

Esteemed Mrs Venkataraman, Esteemed Mrs Gandhi,

Ladies and gentlemen,

Friends,

Comrades,

On behalf of the Soviet leadership and our delegation I extend greetings to the Indian leaders, members of the Indian Government, statesmen, and political leaders of this great friendly nation.

Today, just as 2 years ago, we are touched by the good feelings of thousands of your citizens who welcomed us in the streets of the Indian capital.

Thank you for your kind words and good wishes addressed to restructuring and to our peace policy.

Our visit to your country and all that is associated with it are a further step forward in consolidating and developing Soviet-Indian relations based on the principles and norms contained in our joint documents and constitute the officially declared fundamental policy both for our bilateral cooperation and for our relationship in the international arena.

I would like to emphasize this point right away because prior to this visit, which, naturally, attracts a lot of interest everywhere, there have been some comments that are not exactly friendly. Some go as far as saying that the Soviet Union is changing its priorities, even becoming cool toward India. Comparisons are being drawn between our first visit and the current one, between Soviet-Indian contacts and other foreign policy contacts of the Soviet leadership, and so on.

I shall not dignify with an answer such totally groundless and obviously speculative assertions.

Let me just recall that relations between the Soviet Union and India are grounded in the similarity, and, on many issues, identity of our views as regards the meaning and goals of the world process. They are based on unconditional respect for social and political choices.

Trust and, in particular, the commitment to refrain from actions that might harm the other side's genuine interests stem not only from strict observance of the principles of sovereignty and equality, not only from the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation, not only from the Delhi Declaration, even though they are of immense importance.

They are linked with the long-standing tradition of our people's good feelings toward each other.

We mutually support the initiatives and actions that serve the cause of universal security and help in the settlement of regional conflicts; we expand our cooperation in the fields of trade and the economy, science and technology because it equally benefits the interests of both nations and is useful and advantageous to their peoples.

Soviet-Indian interaction on a consistent and stable basis in no way hinders the development of relations with third countries in accordance with the legitimate and specific interests of each of them.

In other words, Soviet-Indian friendship rests on firm foundations and has nothing to do with any transient considerations or schemes.

It is also unique that we are speaking of friendship even though our two countries are quite unlike each other and have different socio-political systems.

Accounting for one-fifth of the world's population, they develop relations by building on the multifaceted potential for partnership between two powerful forces of progress in today's world—socialism and societies created by national liberation.

It is extremely significant that today, when mankind stands at a crucial watershed in its development, the Soviet Union and India are among those who strive tp put an end to confrontations and to achieve a radical turn for the better in world affairs.

In the Delhi Declaration signed in November 1986, Mr Rajiv Gandhi and I invited the international community to jointly seek ways leading to a nuclear-weapon-free and nonviolent world.

It is true that in light of a long history of wars and the use of force for political purposes, of cold war habits and stereotypes deeply embedded in people's minds, the concept of a nuclear-weapon-free and nonviolent world

not only seems out of the ordinary—it is in fact revolutionary. However, if we are to stick to common sense and if we do not want mankind to destroy itself, we all have to admit—and better sooner than later—that there is simply no alternative to it.

Reading up for this visit I learned that ages ago Buddha taught people not to take anything on faith, not to rely blindly on tradition and generally accepted notions but instead to observe and study on-going changes and not be afraid to develop new principles and follow them.

In the 2 years since the Delhi Declaration we have seen both great changes in the world and the growing willingness among those involved in international affairs to take them into account and draw constructive conclusions.

For you and for us this also means that the declaration correclty grasped the spirit of our time and that its ideas are something more than abstract wishes. What is most important now is to do everything possible to make sure that the new positive trends—in nuclear disarmament, in defusing regional conficts, and in developing dialogue and mutual understanding between states—are accumulating elements of irreversibility.

It will then become possible not only to put an end to the "nuclear syndrome" but to achieve a breakthrough in combatting poverty, deterioration of the environment, hunger and other large-scale disasters—in other words, to create not just the guarantee for the survival of mankind but decent living conditions for generations to come.

The role that our two nations have to play in solving this global problem is the central question in the talks that we have begun today with India's leaders.

Mr President, gentlemen, comrades,

It is quite natural that the international potential of Soviet-Indian relations should grow as their bilateral cooperation becomes more substantive. Overall we are pleased by its progress. In the last 2 years a number of long-term programs have been adopted. Their implementation will lend a new dimension to our cooperation. We shall move from trade based predominantly on exchanging products to production sharing and the creation of joint enterprises; developing, through joint efforts, advanced technology and materials and new applications of agricultural techniques, together explore new sources of energy and conduct research on the advanced frontiers of science.

This will be greatly facilitated by the new intergovernmental agreements that have been signed or will be signed during our visit.

Given the natural and human resources the Soviet Union and India possess and the existing material basis and expertise, the prospects here are most favorable.

Much will depend on how successul we are in restructuring the machinery and forms of cooperation. This is the key to making it more efficient and mutually beneficial.

Now I must make a special mention of our cultural links. I will in effect be speaking of the spiritual and emotional dimension of Soviet-Indian friendship.

Tomorrow we are to take part in the closing ceremony of the USSR Festival in India. Six months ago a similar ceremony took place in Moscow to conclude the Indian festival in the USSR. I believe that their full significance for our peoples is yet to be fully assessed. But one thing is certain. Both festivals have spotlighted the genuine interest and respect of Soviet and Indian people for each other, their yearning to communicate, to know better each other's customs, arts, moral values, and habits, their desire to compare their own problems and concerns with ways of life in a great friendly country and to draw lessons for themselves.

The festivals have blended together the age-old heritage of mutual sympathy and interest with the new international trend in our increasingly integrated world: Nations draw closer together through expanding direct people-to-people contacts.

We already have a vast arsenal of forms of communication—friendship societies, artists' associations and other public organizations, personal contacts between scientists and cultural figures, visits by trade union, women's and youth delegations, tourism, and contacts among athletes, students, and schoolchildren.

A month ago Delhi played host to an interesting and substantive conference on Soviet-Indian friendship and cooperation, which produced good initiatives for the future. The discussions among prominent scientists and political figures covered practically the entire range of relations between our two countries. This is a valuable example of involving science and the general public in diplomacy and politics. It also is a characteristic feature of Soviet-Indian interaction and mutual enrichment.

We believe that houses of Soviet science and culture are useful in bringing knowledge about our country to the Indian public. And we cordially welcome the proposal to open in the near future an Indian cultural centre in Moscow with a branch in Tashkent.

I have been pleasantly surprised at the scope of publishing activity that serves the cause of Soviet-Indian cultural communication, although even there we could, perhaps, work more effectively.

In our age of information we could probably make better use of television. Our television organizations could, for example, start with monthly exchanges of specially prepared programs covering the most interesting events in the lives of their countries, including news about culture, science, sports, and so forth.

Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, comrades,

Constructive dialogue at the summit level has been the driving force in Soviet-Indian relations for over 3 decades now. In recent years this dialogue has acquired a new quality and special, including international, significance.

I believe that Soviet and Indian leaders have all that is necessary—goodwill, experience, trust, and confidence in reliable partnership—to make full use of mutual understanding and interaction for the benefit of their peoples and the entire world community.

May this meeting in Delhi become a notable contribution to this joint work.

I wish good health and every success to President Venkataraman and Prime Minister Gandhi, to Mrs Janaki Venkataraman and Mrs Sonia Gandhi!

To Soviet-Indian friendship!

To a nuclear-weapon-free and nonviolent world!

### Venkataraman Speech at Banquet

*PM2111153388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Nov 88 Second Edition p 2*

[TASS report under general heading: "Relations Between the USSR and India Are Gathering Strength"]

[Text] Your Excellency, President Gorbachev, Mrs Gorbacheva, esteemed guests, ladies and gentlemen.

It is indeed a great pleasure to greet your excellency and Madame Gorbacheva once again in our midst. May I, at the outset, extend to both of you our warm and cordial welcome.

You are no strangers to India, no visitor from the Soviet Union can be. But in you, your excellency, every Indian sees a true and trusted friend—a friend who has touched a special chord in our national consciousness.

We hail you not just as a worthy leader of your great nation but as a world stateman of vision and courage who has made pioneering attempts to draw mankind away from the nuclear precipice. You have, in the process, initiated a fundamental change in the climate of international relations by encouraging trust where there was mistrust and dialogue where there was stalemate. We welcome you, your excellency, as a shantiduta—an ambassador of peace.

We note with immense pleasure the fact that the first country you have chosen to visit after assuming the distinguished additional responsibility of head of state, is India. These are more than mere coincidences, they reflect deep concordances.

Indo-Soviet relations have a depth of sincerity and a width of range that is not common in the relations between two states. Our national experiences and history have been woven on different looms and yet the two tapestries reveal commonalities of pattern. Lenin and Gandhi were two seminal personalities, whose ideas about the organization of political, economic and social life have contributed greatly to the shaping of the 20th century world.

Four days ago, we commenced the celebrations of Jawahar Lal Nehru's birth centenary. We remember his outstanding and pioneering role in building the unique relationship that exists between our two great countries and peoples.

Another precious memory comes to mind today—that of Indira Gandhi. As you are aware, it was during her term of office as prime minister, in 1971, that the steady growth of our multifacted relationship flowered in the shape of the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation. That treaty has served our countries well and continues to provide a fundamental and reliable framework for our ever-expanding relationship.

In recent years, our relations have received a qualitative enrichment and are now encompassing fresh areas and forms of cooperation. They have acquired a new and unprecedented dynamism, depth and maturity. The year-long festivals in India and the Soviet Union, have been unique events that have promoted goodwill and friendship among our two peoples. As the festival of the Soviet Union in India draws to a close, we can look back with deep satisfaction at the people-to-people awareness that has been generated in both our nations by the festivals.

Science and technology have emerged as an important area of Indo-Soviet collaboration with a vast potential for onward thrust into highly sophisticated fields as yet unknown to the world. Our economic cooperation in traditional fields has also proceeded satisfactorily. The constantly changing nature and requirements of our economies, however, demand continuous identification of new opportunities and areas, new forms and new instruments of cooperation. This acquires added importance in the context of changes in the structure of world economy and in the patterns of trade and economic relationship that are taking place.

When I visited the Soviet Union last July, we were just pulling out of one of the worst droughts that the country has faced. Thanks to the bountiful monsoons in all parts of the country, we anticipate a sharp recovery in agricultural production and incomes, and a further incentive

for industrial development, which will also have an effect on other sectors of the economy. We expect that we can look forward to overall economic growth of the order of 8-9 percent in 1988-89. On the external front, our balance of payments continues to be under strain, though the export growth in the last 2 years has been encouraging. We have set our sights high for the next plan and we hope to achieve a little more than our targets.

Major changes are taking place in both countries that present both a challenge and an opportunity. The restructuring under way in the Soviet Union is revolutionary in content and has a global significance. The Indian people are following with deep interest the attempts of the Soviet people under your leadership, President Gorbachev, to bring about, what you call, a second revolution in your country. We wish you every success in your endeavors.

The world has changed greatly since the end of World War II. Never before has the world been faced with the threat of global extinction of civilization, never before have the affluent countries consumed so much of the world's resources, and never before have there been such wide disparities in the world. At the same time, never before has man had the scientific and technological means to give millions of people around the globe an opportunity to live a life of dignity and without want. Our thinking, however, has lagged behind the changed realities of the world. The situation calls for a concerted effort to use the collective wisdom of mankind in meeting and finding answers to the challenges before the world today.

Fortunately, some sane voices in the world have called for a halt to the world's uncontrolled race toward disaster. As the authors of the declaration on principles of a nuclear-weapon-free and nonviolent world signed here in New Delhi 2 years ago, India and the Soviet Union share a common vision of the future of mankind. That document of far-reaching significance represents an attempt to break away from outmoded thinking based on a narrow concept of self- interest. It should now be our endeavor to carry the perspectives of that declaration forward. As you have observed, Mr President, in your famous book Perestroyka (and I quote):

"We want peaceful competition between different social systems to develop unimpeded, to encourage mutually advantageous cooperation rather than confrontation and an arms race. We want people of every country to enjoy prosperity, welfare and happiness. The road to this lies through proceeding to a nuclear-free, nonviolent world."

A change in the international atmosphere is already being felt. The INF Treaty has been historic and, your excellency, we in India note with profound admiration your own role in bringing it about. This needs to be followed up now with further measures of disarmament. It would be good if the proposed treaty on a 50-percent cut in the strategic nuclear arsenals of the Soviet Union and United States can be signed, if outer space can be kept free of nuclear weapons, and if the other nuclear weapon powers can come to be involved in the process of disarmament at an early date. The action plan put forward by India at the third special session of the United Nations on disarmament represents a detailed blueprint for the consideration of the world community.

The feeling of hope, expectation, and even optimism that surrounds the resolution of so-called regional conflicts is another encouraging sign. The Geneva accords were widely viewed as the harbinger of peace to the troubled land of the Afghans. But this has unfortunately not happened so far. All the parties concerned should scrupulously observe these accords. Only then would the way be paved for realizing an independent, sovereign, nonaligned Afghanistan, free of outside interference. A peaceful and stable Afghanistan would not only lead to prosperity and growth in that country but peace and stability in the entire region.

There are also glimmerings of hope for a peaceful negotiated settlement in Cambodia.

We are happy that the Iran-Iraq war has ended and that hopeful signs for a resolution of conflicts in other parts of the world are gradually emerging.

India too is in favor of maintaining a dialogue with all its neigbors, big or small. Only a healthy dialogue can generate greater trust and confidence and lead to the resolution of differences and enhanced cooperation among nations.

In the modern era security cannot be ensured by merely military means. Unchecked arms spending only creates greater suspicion and fuels a race that no country, no matter how rich and strong, can really afford. The world is crying out for more resources for development and for tackling the problems like eradication of poverty, ignorance and disease, combating of the menace of drugs abuse and terrorism.

Each age faces challenges and problems of its own. The institutions of the world have to make systematic adaptations to meet the fresh challenges of every age. Rigidity must give way to pragmatism. Mr President, your personal contribution to the new thinking in the world today has been profound. Even diehard skeptics of yesterday are now beginning to change their view. People have been forced to accept the interdependence of the world.

It is our hope and confidence that the climate of opinion which you have helped to build—the climate of dialogue, trust and understanding—will usher in a millennium of peace and prosperity in the world.

Now, your excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, I want to ask you to join me in raising your glasses in a toast:

To the health, happiness, and success of outstanding world state figure and great friend of India His Excellency Mikhail Gorbachev;

To the health and happiness of Mrs Gorbacheva;

To the steady development of Indian-Soviet friendship and cooperation;

To peace and prosperity for the peoples of the world.

### Banquet Guests Listed

*PM2111111188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Nov 88 Second Edition pp 1,2*

[TASS report under the general heading: "Relations Between the USSR and India Are Gathering Strength"]

[Excerpts] Delhi, 18 Nov—In the evening Indian President R. Venkataraman gave a dinner in the presidential palace in honor of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Before the start of the dinner, which was taking place in one of the most beautiful halls of the "Ashoka" complex, the USSR and Indian national anthems were played.

The dinner was attended by E.A. Shevardnadze, V.M. Kamentsev, R.N. Nishanov, V.G. Zakharov, and other officials accompanying M.S. Gorbachev on his trip. Prime Minister R. Gandhi, members of the government, parliamentarians, and prominent politicians and public figures were present on the Indian side.

R. Venkataraman made a speech at the dinner. [passage omitted]

M.S. Gorbachev made a reply speech. [passage omitted]

The speeches by R. Venkataraman and M.S. Gorbachev were listened to very closely and were applauded.

### Gorbachev Comments on Estonia

*PM2111150788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Nov 88 Second Edition pp 1, 2*

[TASS report: "Visit to Memorial Sites"]

[Text] Delhi, 19 Nov— M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, today visited sites associated with Mahatma Gandhi, Jawahar Lal Nehru, and Indira Gandhi—names dear to Indian people.

At the Rajghat Memorial—site of Mahatma Gandhi's cremation—the Soviet leader laid a wreath bearing the inscription "To Mahatma Gandhi, inspirer of the Indian people's social liberation struggle." He made the following entry in the Distinguished Visitors' Book: "With sincere respect for the memory of Mahatma Gandhi—great son of India and outstanding fighter for national liberation. M. Gorbachev."

The Soviet guest laid a wreath at the Shantivana Memorial—site of J. Nehru's cremation. The ribbon on the wreath read: "To J. Nehru—great patriot and creator of independent India." He made the following entry in the Nehru Memorial Museum's Distinguished Visitors' book: "With profound respect for the memory of J. Nehru—leader of free India who was at the beginning of Soviet-Indian friendship. M. Gorbachev."

The Soviet state leader laid a wreath at the Saktisthal Memorial, site of Indira Gandhi's cremation. Its ribbon bore the inscription "To Indira Gandhi—glorious daughter of India and sincere friend of the Soviet Union." He made the following entry in the memorial's Distinguished Visitors' Book: "We pay our deep respect to the memory of Indira Gandhi—outstanding statesman of modern times, who made an irreplaceable contribution to strengthening friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and India."

M.S. Gorbachev was accompanied by E.A. Shevardnadze, V.M. Kamentsev, R.N. Nishanov, V.G. Zakharov, and other officials.

M.S. Gorbachev planted saplings of India's popular orchid tree in the parks adjoining the latter two memorials.

M.S. Gorbachev also visited the Red Fort—the majestic fortified palace complex built in Delhi around 350 years ago. It is a unique monument of Indian history, preserving real gems of the Indian people's architecture and art.

In 1947 J. Nehru, first leader of the government, raised the state flag over this ancient fortress and proclaimed independence, marking the inception of a new era in India's history, the era of national revival. And nowadays, on national holidays, mass rallies take place on the square facing the Red Fort, and every night there is a sound and light presentation inside the fort during which the actual voice of J. Nehru—that great son of India and its first prime minister—can be heard.

Here M.S. Gorbachev answered a question from Soviet television regarding his impressions of what he had seen and of his meetings with Indian leaders.

He answered as follows:

It is not so easy to describe in a few words our relations with India and the essence of the talks we have been holding. Nevertheless, I would say that our relations are attaining a new level—in the sphere of political dialogue and collaboration in discussing and developing approaches to questions of major world politics. Our

relations have also acquired different dynamics in the sphere of economic cooperation: We are already achieving new forms now—not simply trade but also joint enterprises and cooperation. Moreover, this affects very important spheres of the economy. Substantial documents will be signed.

But what is specially important and valuable for the present stage of relations—and, in my opinion, this is the best aspect of them—is the attainment of very extensive human contacts. And here we have the arts festivals, held to concide with the 70th anniversary of the October revolution and the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of India' freedom—and it was precisely here, at the Red Fort, that India's freedom was proclaimed by J. Nehru. The festivals have become true manifestations of friendship and sincere openness between our two peoples. And one is already beginning to regret that they must be brought to a close today. But I must say that this is perhaps an event that has never occurred before in world practice as part of contacts between peoples.

Great changes in a progressive direction are taking place in both our states. Both states are making an immense contribution to solving world problems. Our states belong to different systems but this does not prevent their cooperating so successfully. That, in my opinion, is the supreme value. It is an example of how relations among peoples and states must be built in the future. I am very happy that, together with our friends, the current leadership of the Soviet Union, with the support of our peoples, is making its contribution to developing Soviet-Indian friendship for the benefit of present and future generations and that the mighty tree of this friendship is growing and strengthening.

M.S. Gorbachev also answered a question from a REUTER correspondent regarding what is happening in Estonia.

Restructuring is taking place in Estonia, as throughout the country, he said. Much is being thought through in our country—regarding both the economy and another sphere, namely, the political process, democracy, and glasnost. There is a very great deal of discussion now about the future of the union and about approaches to solving the problems that built up in interethnic relations. And the most important thing is the question of harmonizing the center and the republics. We will have to go through at least three stages in solving these questions.

We are now dealing with the center. The country needs a strong center but it must be freed from trivial concerns.

The next stage is the question of the status of union republics and autonomous oblasts. It needs to be carefully studied and resolved. We have therefore decided to devote a CPSU Central Committee plenum to it and are now making preparations for it. Very many proposals are now coming in.

The subsequent, third stage concerns local soviets. There will be a law on local self-government. Yesterday Comrade N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, assembled representatives of all republics. They discussed questions of regional economic accountability.

We have long been involving our comrades from Estonia in pioneering work on questions of developing initiative. Estonia and Georgia were among the first we instructed to study agro-industrial questions. And very lively discussion of relations between the center and the republic have been going on there. There is much that disquiets our Estonian comrades there. Nevertheless, I think that one must agree that there were errors in the deployment of productive forces and this led to certain migration processes coming about which caused concern to the local native population. This also aggravated environmental problems in some instances.

Now, as part of the process of democratizing discussion of all problems, there are standpoints expressed which I would not accept, as they are unconstructive. They may suit the press, but they are not very suitable for life. All of this will be discussed with the participation of representatives of all the union. We will not rush. I think we will find a solution, including a solution to those questions which worry a particular republic. Everything must be carefully studied. Everything will, I think, turn out well. Many people have constructive proposals, but there are also proposals dictated, I think, by emotion. This prompts an equivocal reaction in society. But that is the democratic process. I hope that we will solve everything as is necessary.

### Gorbachev Meets Journalists

*LD1911114588 Moscow TASS in English 1121 GMT 19 Nov 88*

[Text] New Delhi November 19 TASS—By TASS special correspondents Vladimir Baydashin and Vitaliy Chukseyev:

Visiting Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev today put a high value on his country's relations with India.

Answering reporters' questions during a tour of the historical Red Fort about his impressions of the visit and his meetings with Indian leaders, he said:

"It isn't easy to sum up in a few words our relations with India and the substance of the talks we've been conducting.

"But still, I would say that our relations reaching new highs—in the area of political dialogue, for instance in discussing and developing approaches to the paramount issues of world politics. [sentence as received]

"Your relations have also acquired a new dynamism in the area of economic cooperation: We are adopting new forms—not just trade but joint ventures and cooperative arrangements.

"And this affects very important economic sectors. Serious documents will be signed.

"But what is particularly important and valuable to this phase in our cooperation—and what is, in my opinion, its best possible characteristic—is the beginning of people to people contacts on a very broad scale.

"The art festivals which have been timed for the 70th anniversary of the October revolution and the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of India's freedom—and it is here, in the Red Fort, that free India was proclaimed by Jawahar Lal Nehru—have been real shows of friendship and earnest openness between the two nations.

"Thorough-going, progressive change is under way in both states. Both are making a tremendous contribution to resolving world problems. Despite belonging to different systems, they cooperate most successfully.

"This is, I think, the principal asset. It is an example of how relations between peoples and states should be built in the future.

"I am very happy that together with all our friends, with the entire leadership of the Soviet Union and with the support of all our people and all the peoples, we are making our contribution to the development of present and future generations so that the mighty tree of Soviet-Indian friendship can keep growing ever stronger."

### Receives Gandhi Prize

*LD1911092188 Moscow TASS in English 0911 GMT 19 Nov 88*

[Text] New Delhi November 19 TASS—By TASS special correspondents Vladimir Baydashin and Vitaliy Chukseyev:

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev was presented with the Indira Gandhi award at a ceremony here today.

The high distinction, named after the outstanding daughter of the Indian people, is annually conferred on individuals or organizations for their contribution to strengthening international peace, detente, equality, goodwill and harmony between nations.

When awarding the prize to Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the Soviet Parliament, the jury said it was in appreciation of his daring and impressive proposals for developing a positive and effective process of nuclear disarmament and for his efforts towards creating a nuclear-free and non-violent world.

The Soviet leader was congratulated by Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Vice-President Shanker Dayal Sharma.

The prize was presented by President Ramaswami Venkataraman.

In his acceptance speech Gorbachev expressed gratitude for the honour and assured all those present that the Soviet Union will continue making every effort to ease international tension and create a world free from the threat of war.

[Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 20 November in its Second Edition carries on page 1 under the headline "Presentation of Indira Gandhi Prize" a 200-word TASS report on the 19 November presentation of the Indira Gandhi Prize which notes that the ceremony was attended by "E.A. Shevardnadze, V.M. Kamentsev, R.N. Nishanov, and V.G. Zakharov."]

### Gorbachev Prize Ceremony Speech

*PM2111104388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Nov 88 Second Edition p 2*

[Acceptance speech by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at the Indira Gandhi prize presentation ceremony under the general heading "Presentation of Indira Gandhi Prize"; "Speech by M.S. Gorbachev"]

[Text] Esteemed Mr President!

Esteemed Mr Prime Minister!

Ladies and gentlemen! Comrades!

I thank you Mr Sharma, Mr Nyerere, Mr (Al-Hayat), and all the members of the international jury, each of whom has personally contributed to the cause of peace and progess, that they considered it possible to award me this prize. I thank Mr Venkataraman, Mr Gandhi, and Mr Sharma for their kind words addressed to me. This award and the venue and time of the presentation ceremony have a profound significance for me. The prize carries the name of Indira Gandhi. The legacy of this remarkable woman, an oustanding stateswoman of our century, a political leader of worldwide standing, above all of course belongs to India. Following in the steps of her great father Jawahar Lal Nehru, it was her destiny to lead this enormous, ancient and diverse country along the road of independence and progress toward transforming it into a modern power. But Indira Gandhi also belongs to all mankind. Her thought and political action knew no national limitations. She did not separate the destiny of her country from global progress. Indira Gandhi said that people are the "children of the universe." It seemed that this was a simple, self-evident truth. We are all in one boat called the earth. But a lot needs to be learned to live in harmony with this truth.

For thousands of years progress has required sacrifices and has been won at a high cost. Today it is fraught with profound contradictions.

Man has penetrated the deepest secrets of nature and of the living world and is at the same time jeopardizing his own existence.

Technology, which is multiplying many times the potential of human labor, is working miracles. And at the same time, tens of millions of people find themselves jobless.

The creation of civilized living conditions is bringing about a deterioration in the environment, the depletion of nonrenewable natural resoures, and the squandering of intellectual resources.

The contrasts in the utilization of social wealth are immense. Some are receiving the fruits of progress in abundance, while for others they remain totally out of reach. The list of such paradoxes goes on and on.

Many of them carry in themselves a universal danger. That is why mankind needs to rethink the values of its own existence, to transform the entire system of relationships in the world—economic, political, legal, and cultural—and first of all to restructure its thinking in the realization that the world is one and interrelated. This interdependence is not a burden. It holds the potential of mutual enrichment, the prospect of building a community of states and peoples in which simple laws of morality and justice will become for them just as natural as in relations among civilized people.

Politics and morality can no longer be separated from each other. The nuclear age is fraught with catastrophic consequences. This is the attitude that guided Mr Rajiv Gandhi and me when adopting the Delhi Declaration. Now one can observe that the political thought incorporated in it is in harmony with our time. After all, it is a fact that the unwieldy train carrying nuclear death, which gathered immense momentum, has now started to slow down. A mechanism of international supervision has appeared in a sphere that seemed absolutely inviolable. It has been possible to slow down the spread of regional hotbeds of tension.

In world politics, a new quality has been assumed by dialogue, which has begun to oust confrontational tactics. Governments, and not just the public, have started to realize the unifying significance of global problems. There is much to indicate that a new international situation is taking shape, enabling one to look forward with hope to the 21st century.

One of the notable features of that situation is the original role of the developing states. The Nonaligned Movement has come to be an integral factor in world politics.

I cannot fail to mention here the founder of the actual concept of that movement and one of its principal architects—Jawahar Lal Nehru.

We in the Soviet Union see a growing multiplicity in world development and an ever increasing contribution by the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America toward shaping a new appearance. It is for precisely that reason that the cornerstone of our new thinking is the principle of free choice. That is a most vital imperative of our times, and, I think, the United Nations Organization is called on to play an enormous part in the understanding and implementing it. It will, of course, improve both its structure and forms of activity, but it has already shown in recent times that it is capable of worthily carrying out the mission for which it was established.

Positive tendencies are of course having difficulty in forcing their way through. We have evidence of that very close at hand. The whole world, for instance, has recognized the positive significance of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, and not only for their participants. This was authoritatively confirmed by the UN General Assembly, which at the beginning of the month unanimously adopted a resolution, the title of which was: "The situation in Afghanistan and its consequences for international peace and security." But as is evident, Pakistan and the United States are having difficulty in adopting new approaches to international affairs. Their actions create the impression that they would like to force us to renounce the agreements, although the grievous consequences of that are obvious. But rejection of confrontational strategy and the demilitarization of relations among states would enable the problem of underdevelopment to be transferred to the practical sphere. Its true dimensions are only just beginning to be realized. Incidentally, the danger lurking here will soon be comparable with the threat of the nuclear self-destruction of civilization and ecological catastrophe.

Soviet people were with the oppressed peoples when they were battling against colonialism. We are with the liberated peoples now too as they fight for economic and social rebirth, for a life worthy of the end of the 20th century.

Hand in hand with the developing countries, we intend to head toward the creation of a global system of political and economic security. For us, the "North-South" and "East-South" problems are merging into a task for all mankind. And we appreciate the fact that in these questions, too, our ideas are close to the Indian ones. The "plan of action" which Prime Minister Gandhi came out with at the United Nations in the summer is in harmony with our long-term aims. We support, in particular, the idea of an international convention to outlaw the very threat of use of nuclear weapons. In our thoughts about international security and ways of strengthening it, naturally Asia occupies a big place, as does the entire Asia-Pacific region.

The initiatives announced in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk were an invitation jointly to seek ways of improving the situation in the [Asia-Pacific] region, with the participation of all interested states, including

the United States, of course. And we count particularly on understanding and cooperation with India, without which the problems of the Asia-Pacific region are insoluble.

That is also true with regard to another great state—the PRC. When you think of such countries as the Soviet Union, India, and China you inevitably arrive at the idea that good relations between them are exceptionally important for the destinies of Asia and the progress of the world as a whole. We are glad that an improvement has taken shape in Indian-Chinese relations. Our own relations with China are also shaping up in a reassuring manner. Evidently, a Soviet-Chinese summit is not very far off [ne za gorami].

The concept of trust has now entered the diplomatic lexicon. It is characteristic that it should come from ordinary dealings among people. The fact that trust between our countries did not arise as an alternative to mistrust has its own great significance. Now we are showing the whole world how two great countries can work together on the basis of trust, with benefit for themselves and not to the detriment of others. The traditions of our ties are fruitful, the opportunities are great, and the prospects depend on us.

Gentlemen! The motto of the "Indira Gandhi Prize" is peace, disarmament, development. Here lies the road to preserving mankind and constructing a civilized world. Accepting this precious award, I sense keenly once more a devotion to these aims. Thank you.

## Shevardnadze Speaks at Ceremony

*PM2111104988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Nov 88 Second Edition p 2*

[Speech by Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze at the Indira Ghandi Prize ceremony under the general heading "Presentation of Indira Gandhi Prize"; "Speech by E.A. Shevardnadze"]

[Text] Mr President, Mr Prime Minister, ladies and gentlemen, comrades!

Permit me to say a few words in connection with the exciting event going on in this magnificent hall. First, the Soviet delegation, on behalf of our people, cordially congratulates Mikhail Sergeyevich on the award of the prize named after Indira Gandhi, a glorious daughter of India and an outstanding political figure of our era.

The name, deeds, and image of that unique personality of our century are especially near to the Soviet people. One can say a very great deal about this, but it is best confirmed in the fact that hundreds of little girls born in our country have been given the name Indira.

Two years ago, just before signing the celebrated Delhi Declaration, we visited the Soviet House of Science and Culture in Delhi. We had truly unforgettable meetings with prominent representatives of the Indian public. We saw the enormous interest with which thousands upon thousands of Indian boys and girls learn about the culture and national achievements of the Soviet peoples, and study our country, both past and present. It really is a common home bringing together our two great peoples. Mikhail Sergeyevich has instructed me to say that he is handing over the money connected with the prize for the needs of that common home of ours. The Indira Gandhi prize will serve to deepen our traditional friendship and equal cooperation, and it is probably this that constitutes the main significance of today's festive ceremonial.

One more thing: we have no doubt that by common and united effort we will manage to set up in Moscow an exemplary cultural center that will represent in a worthy manner the very rich culture of the Indian people and all the achievements of your great country.

## Gorbachev Addresses USSR Festival

*PM2111104188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Nov 88 Second Edition p 3*

[Speech by Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at the closing ceremony of the Soviet-Indian cultural festival under the general heading "The Festival Remains in Our Hearts"; "Speech by M.S. Gorbachev"]

[Text] Esteemed Mr President, esteemed Mr Prime Minister, esteemed Mrs Venkataraman, esteemed Mrs Gandhi, dear Indian friends, comrades:

Permit me to express my cordial gratitude for the invitation to take part in this festive ceremony. It crowns an event that can be called unprecedented in the life of our peoples. The Festival of India which was held throughout the Soviet Union, from the Baltic region to the Far East, visited 150 towns. The Soviet festival was hosted by more than 100 Indian towns. Art, perhaps like nothing else, expresses the national spirit, and the spirit of a people, like that of each person, is original and unrepeatable. Poetry, dance, or an artist's picture can sometimes give a fuller idea not only of customs and way of life but also of how people see the world, what they consider good and evil, in what they see the meaning of life.

Familiarity with the culture of other peoples teaches us the ability to live in a multifaceted world, without which the world could not survive in the nuclear age. Contact and interaction between two such great cultures are, of course, valuable in their own right, but as Rabindranath Tagore said: "This world is one of wild storms tamed by the music of beauty." The thirst for beauty, harmony, and justice lies at the basis of universal human values; the Soviet and Indian leaderships proclaimed the pre-eminence of those values in politics in the Delhi Declaration.

This unique event in the cultural life of our countries has also become a major political fact. It is an edifying example of people's diplomacy. The festivals have demonstrated a simple truth, but one that is important for everyone: Broad contacts between people from different countries reinforce the idea of the unity of the human family and feelings of mutual dependence, and these serve as a reliable compass in the still very confused labyrinths of today's integral and interlinked world.

Trust, mutual understanding, and a readiness for cooperation on the basis of respect for the sovereign choice by each one of their way of life are helping to build all-embracing political security and thereby to guard our wonderful world from self-annihilation.

It is in this broad context that we view the festivals that have been held. They have served well friendship between India and the Soviet Union. A notable thing is that they were connected with two major dates in the 20th century: the 70th anniversary of the October revolution and the 40th anniversary of Indian independence.

It is symbolic that during this time a monument to Vladimir Ilich Lenin was unveiled in Delhi as were monuments to Mahatma Gandhi and Indira Gandhi in Moscow.

There is particular significance in the fact that the year of Jawahar Lal Nehru, dedicated to the centenary of the birth of this great son of India, as it were, receives the baton of the festival. A start to the jubilee year was ceremoniously made a week ago. We will be taking part in honoring Nehru together with you.

Dear friends, the land of the Soviets is gripped by a powerful upsurge of changes. A revolutionary search for a new quality of socialism is going on. Millions of people have actively undertaken the restructuring of their public and state edifice. There are many problems. They are great and new. Our people have many serious ideas and suggestions as to how to solve them. We are certain of our success, because we have at our disposal the great values of our revolution: the power of the working people, socialist ownership, internationalism, and a party that has a program adopted by the people, and a policy of revolutionary transformations. We are cleansing society of everything that is alien to Leninist ideals and the humanist nature of socialism and at the same time are building new roads to the future.

I convey to you, and through you to hundreds of millions of Indians, a friendly greeting from the peoples of the Soviet Union. They send you wishes for peace, progress, and success in strengthening the unity of the country and the inviolability of its borders.

The festivals are coming to an end. The farewell salute will soon resound, and the festival lights will go out. But this festival of friendship of our two great peoples will remain in our memories as a symbol of our friendship and as a spur to joint headway toward a better world.

### Venkataraman Festival Speech

*PM2111123788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Nov 88 Second Edition p 3*

[TASS report on Indian President Venkataraman's 19 November speech at the closing ceremony of the USSR Festival in India, under the general heading: "Festival Remains in Our Hearts"]

[Text] Your Excellency President Gorbachev!

Mrs Gorbachev!

Esteemed Soviet guests!

Ladies and gentlemen!

This meeting of friends from the Soviet Union and India is devoted to the closing of the USSR Festival in India. It concludes our joint festivities begun in July last year with the opening of the Festival of India in the USSR. The symbolic mixing of the waters of the sacred Ganges and the mighty Volga used to water the sapling planted in the Kremlin reflects the aim of the two friendship festivals—to unite millions of Indian and Soviet people in getting to know each other, our cultural legacies, present-day achievements, and our ways of life.

We can state with justifiable pride that the results of these unprecedented festivals have exceeded even our most optimistic expectations. They have opened a new chapter in the history of Indian-Soviet friendship, emphasizing the important role of cooperation among people as an instrument of diplomacy.

The festivals were not just entertainments. They were not just temporary shows but permanent experience. They provided a new boost to our diverse relations, gave rise to new ideas, and opened up new horizons for cooperation. This shoot of friendship will undoubtedly become a majestic tree, nurtured with the same care and love that our two peoples feel for each other.

The festivals demonstrated the evolution of the unique mutual sympathy that has existed for centuries between our peoples. The excavations in Soviet Central Asia and northern India are eloquent proof of the numerous contacts between our two countries and their influence on each other. Political, cultural, religious, and economic ties between considerable portions of Indian and Soviet territory are known to have existed from virtually the 4th century. Our lands have known the philosophical religious power of Buddhism and Islam thanks to the

descendants of Kushan tribesmen, Turks, and Afghans and thanks to the travels by statesmen, scholars, prophets, artists, artisans, and merchants.

Nearer to our time, immediately after the industrial revolution, the hearts of India and the Soviet Union started beating in unison. Contacts were established at a high level between Gandhi and Tolstoy, thanks to their renowned correspondence. In the first years of the 20th century Jawahar Lal Nehru was inspired by Soviet planning and Lenin's philosophy.

Independence radically altered our relations. Until then relations between our two countries had been deep but fragmented. But then everything that had been predestined came to pass, and the two states established direct, close, and indissoluble ties with each other.

In the last 40 years our relations have steadily developed and deepened. The friendship between our two countries is not based on ephemeral considerations but on shared ideas about world peace.

The year-long Festivals of India and the Soviet Union have had a particular role. They have been unique events which will leave an indelible mark on the history of Indian-Soviet friendship. India has given Soviet people not only in Moscow and other large cities but even in remote parts of your great friendly country an opportunity to gain an impression of the best traditions of our music, dance, and theater. Similarly, we in India have opened our doors and hearts to people from the Soviet Union. Your Bolshoy and Kirov Ballets, the Moiseyev Ensemble, folklore groups, and your circus have fascinated us, while the rhythms and melodies of your jazz and folk groups have delighted us. The exhibitions of the fantastic treasures of the Hermitage and the Kremlin, along with many other exhibitions, have opened up a great deal for millions of Indians.

The festival is currently drawing to a close in the lofty and inspiring presence of President Gorbachev. But the cycle of our exchanges, like the changing seasons, will never end. It will continue forever. It will continue, enriched by the multifaceted experience of these festivals, and will lead us to a future of steadily strengthening friendship between our two countries and peoples.

With these words I would like to convey my warmest greetings and gratitude to all those people from the Soviet Union—artists, technicians, and administrators—who have made this festival a huge success. We will always be grateful for this festival and your role in it. So may the "dosti," as we say here, or the "friendship," as you say, between our peoples continue for as long as the Ganges and Volga Rivers continue to flow.

## Gorbachev, Gandhi Hold Talks

*PM2111101588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Nov 88 Second Edition p 1*

[TASS report: "Soviet-Indian Talks"]

[Text] Delhi, 19 Nov—Talks between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Rajiv Gandhi, prime minister of India, were held in Delhi today, with the participation of official representatives of both governments.

In greeting the high-ranking Soviet guest, Rajiv Gandhi noted that Mikhail Gorbachev was making his first trip abroad, as the head of the Soviet state, to friendy India.

The present visit, he said, which is profoundly symbolic and filled with great content, and coincides with the beginning of the celebration in India of the birth centenary of Jawahar Lal Nehru, the true architect of Soviet-Indian friendship and cooperation. The presentation to Mikhail Gorbachev on Indira Gandhi's birthday of the prize bearing her name is recognition by the world public of his major contribution to the cause of real disarmament and the creation of a nuclear-free and nonviolent world.

Mikhail Gorbachev thanked the Indian prime minister for the lofty award, and for the warm words directed at the Soviet Union in the course of the ceremony.

He again stressed the profound adherence of the Soviet leadership to a course aimed at firm friendship and cooperation with India, a readiness to do everything possible to boost this cooperation in all spheres to a higher level, and to raise Soviet-Indian relations as a whole to a new stage.

Soviet-Indian interaction is a great asset both in terms of bilateral relations and in terms of a positive influence on international developments.

Mikhail Gorbachev noted the significance of the Delhi Declaration, an historic document that is still only unfolding its vast potential for the present and the future.

Mikhail Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi expressed the conviction that Soviet-Indian friendship and cooperation, created by the joint efforts of several generations, will further develop in all spheres.

After noting the great significance of the Indian festivals held in the USSR and of the USSR festivals held in India, Mikhail Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi expressed their support for everything positive they brought into the lives of the peoples of the two countries being consolidated and developed. In this connection it was agreed to establish a joint Soviet-Indian J. Nehru fund.

An important part of the talks was given over to discussion of the state and prospects for trade, economic, and scientific-technical cooperation between the USSR and India. Specific issues of the further expansion and deepening of cooperation in this sphere were considered. It was noted that Soviet-Indian cooperation is of an equal and mutually beneficial nature, and fully corresponds to the interests of the peoples of the two countries.

The sides confirmed a mutual desire to increase trade turnover to a maximum, to achieve a major breakthrough in the sphere of trade and economic relations, and to bring them to a new level corresponding to the contemporary state of Soviet-Indian ties. In this context it was noted that the considerable reserves available for achieving this objective will be mobilized by way of a more active involvement of Indian private capital and the utilization of new forms of economic cooperation.

Taking part in the talks were E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR foreign minister; V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and other officials accompanying M.S. Gorbachev; P.V. Narasimha Rao, Indian minister of external affairs; Buta Singh, minister of home affairs; Dinesh Singh, minister of commerce; and other members of the Indian Government.

### 2d Meeting on 19 Nov

*LD1911152888 Moscow TASS in English 1440 GMT 19 Nov 88*

[Text] New Delhi November 19 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev and Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi held the second tete-a-tete meeting here today.

After a brief exchange of opinions on some economic aspects of negotiations held between the delegations, the sides continued yesterday's talk on problems of the present-day international development.

The main topic was integration processes in the world, their various forms and aims and the attitude of the USSR and India to them. In this context the sides examined questions of Soviet-Indian interaction as a way of taking forward the ideas of the Delhi Declaration into international politics.

The meetings will be continued.

### Shevardnadze, Rao Meet

*LD2011115688 Moscow TASS in English 1133 GMT 20 Nov 88*

[Text] New Delhi November 20 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze held a second meeting with his Indian counterpart Narasimha Rao here today within the framework of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to India.

The ministers held a substantive exchange of views on problems connected to ensuring international security and resolving regional conflicts, including the Middle East, Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

They also discussed issues of developing and strengthening bilateral Soviet-Indian cooperation in a number of practical fields, specifically consular ties.

The ministers agreed to meet regularly in the future.

### Agreements Signed

*PM2011191188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Nov 88 First Edition p 3*

[TASS report: "Signing of Soviet-Indian Documents"]

[Text] Delhi, 20 Nov—A number of Soviet-Indian documents were signed in the Rashtrapati Bhavan Presidential Palace here today.

The ceremony in the Ashoka Hall was attended by members of the Indian Government, prominent politicians and public personalities, and Indian and foreign reporters.

It was in the same hall that the historic Delhi Declaration on principles for a nuclear-weapon-free and non-violent world was signed 2 years ago.

Exactly at noon the hall was entered by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. A Soviet-Indian summit statement was signed. The two countries' leaders placed their signatures at the end of the joint document.

M.S. Gorbachev and R. Gandhi also signed an agreement on cooperation in the construction of a nuclear power station in India.

To tumultuous applause from those present at the ceremony the two leaders exchanged the documents.

An agreement on long-term cooperation in the exploration and use of outer space for peaceful purposes was signed by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Indian External Relations Minister Narasimha Rao.

An agreement on cooperation in the construction of the second phase of the Vindyachal thermal power station in India was signed by Vladimir Kamentsev, a deputy Soviet head of government, and Indian Finance Minister S.B. Chavan.

Other documents signed included an agreement on avoiding double taxation and a protocol on economic and technical cooperation in building power industry facilities.

### Cultural Exchange Program Signed

*LD2011135888 Moscow TASS in English 1237 GMT 20 Nov 88*

[Text] New Delhi November 20 TASS—The signing of a programme of exchanges between the USSR and India in the sphere of literature, science and education for the period of between January 1, 1989 and December 31, 1990 took place at the Indian Ministry of Culture. The document was signed by Igor Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, and Vira Raghavan, secretary of the Indian Government on cultural questions.

The programme provides for further development of bilateral relations between the USSR and India in the sphere of science and education, including personnel training, exchanges of exhibitions, guest performances of actors, youth and sport contacts, cooperation between creative unions, the national mass media, the cinema industries and publishing houses.

The sides noted that the signed document incorporated the experience of the two festivals and was a reflection of mutual desire for strengthening and developing traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries.

### Soviet-Indian Summit Statement

*PM2011175488 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Nov 88 First Edition pp 1, 3*

["Soviet-Indian Statement"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] New Delhi, 20 Nov—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India on 20 November signed the following Soviet-Indian summit statement:

The USSR and the Republic of India note with deep satisfaction that the principles of new political thinking embodied in the Delhi Declaration have generated an increasingly wide response through the world. The Delhi Declaration contains the basic tenets of the philosophy of survival and progress in the nuclear and space age, positively influences the general political climate in the world and gives a stimulus to the reshaping of international relations. It reflects the common perceptions of the two countries on global issues and their common vision for the future of humankind.

Developments over the last 2 years have shown that, given political will, a new concept of a safer and a more just world can acquire universal acceptance. The signing of the INF Treaty, the Geneva accords on Afghanistan, the cease-fire in the Iran-Iraq War and the positive moves towards a settlement of conflicts in Southeast Asia, south-west Africa and other parts of the world have demonstrated the topicality and vitality of the Delhi Declaration.

The Soviet Union and India believe that today's interdependent world is the common home of hunmankind and every individual has an equal right to use its resources. They emphasise the importance of efforts by all states to develop a comprehensive global system of international security.

The parties believe that the new approach to international relations, enunciated in the Delhi Declaration, requires a change in doctrines, policies and institutions to build and sustain a nuclear-weapon-free and nonviolent world. This requires demilitarization, democratization, and humanization of international relations. They reaffirm that militarism, power politics, and the division of the world into military alliances have engendered suspicion and hostility and should be discarded. There should be no military bases or facilities outside national borders.

Both parties agree that disarmament, and especially nuclear disarmament, is today the primary issue that concerns all nations and peoples. The momentum generated recently in this field must be preserved and further strengthened. Urgent steps must be taken to immediately suspend and ban nuclear-weapon testing, to prevent an arms race in outer space, and to conclude an agreement on the 50-percent reduction in strategic nuclear weapons; to move toward the elimination of all types of mass destruction weapons, above all nuclear weapons, and establish international control over the emerging new technologies with military potential. An international convention banning the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons and a global convention on the comprehensive prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons, including binary weapons, should be concluded immediately.

The Soviet Union and India consider that all nuclear-weapon states should join the nuclear disarmament process. The Soviet program for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000 and India's action plan for ushering in a nuclear-weapons-free and nonviolent world order by 2010 are detailed blueprints addressed to the world community. Both sides stand for an increased role of mulitilateral forums in the process of disarmament, and for a single integrated mulitilateral verification system.

The Soviet Union and India reiterate their support for the Geneva accords on Afghanistan and call for their strict and honest implementation by all parties concerned. The two countries express concern over the obstructionist policy of certain forces that are violating the accords and over the continued bloodshed in Afghanistan and affirm that the process of national reconciliation should be encouraged. The Soviet Union and India appeal to the U.N. secretary general to implement without delay the mandate given to him by the United Nations General Assembly resolution on Afghanistan which emphasizes the need for an intra-Afghan dialogue for the establishment of a broad-based government. The

formation of such a government in Afghanistan is a matter exclusively for the Afghan people to decide. The preservation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence, and nonaligned character of Afghanistan is vital for the solution of the Afghan problem. A UN-supported international conference may be needed for this purpose.

The Soviet Union and India express concern at the situation in the Near East, aggravated by the escalation of the arms race in the region. The two parties welcome the realism and responsibility shown by the Palestinian leadership, and support the decision of the Palestinian National Council on the creation of an independent Palestinian state within the framework of a just and comprehensive Near East settlement. They reaffirm their call for the early start of preparatory work to convene the UN-sponsored international conference on the Middle East with the participation of all parties concerned on an equal footing.

The Soviet Union and India express their satisfaction with the UN-sponsored cease-fire between Iraq and Iran and hope that it will lead to the establishment of a just and lasting peace between the two countries.

The two parties urge all concerned to step up their efforts to achieve a political settlement in Cambodia that ensures its peaceful, sovereign, independent, nonaligned status, free of the threat of restoration of the genocidal regime. They welcome the unofficial meeting in Jakarta, the initiative undertaken within the framework of the Nonaligned Movement and the dialogue that has been recently resumed in Paris, and hope that these will lead to an early solution.

The sides believe that the reduction of tension in the Korean peninsula would be a major contribution to the improvement of the situation in Asia. They support the development of a broad constructive dialogue in the interest of the entire Korean people.

The Soviet Union and India reaffirm their determination to pursue their endeavour to attain the objectives embodied in the 1971 UN declaration on the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. They call for the dismantling of all foreign military bases, and for preventing the creation of new ones, and condemn attempts to build up foreign military presences in the Indian Ocean. They urge the early convening of an international conference on the Indian Ocean, not later than 1990, in accordance with the latest UN General Assembly resolution.

The two states reiterate their support for the just demand of Mauritius relating to the restoration of its sovereighty over the Chagos Archipelago, including Diego Garcia.

The Soviet Union and India strongly condemn racism in all its forms and manifestations, wherever it may occur. They reaffirm their unwavering support for the struggle of the people of southern Africa. In this context, they recall that the UN Charter envisages a number of measures, including the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions for dismantling racism and apartheid. Both sides welcome the Angolan-Cuban initiatives for a settlement in south-west Africa and express their belief that progress in the talks opens the way to the unconditional implementation of the Security Council resolution on Namibian independence. The Soviet Union and India appreciate the important role of the Africa Fund established by the Nonaligned Movement.

The two countries reiterate their support for a just political settlement of the situation in Central America, based on ensuring the security of all the states of the region and respect for their sovereignty, national independence, and right to self-determination, without outside interference in their internal affairs. The Soviet Union and India call for the cessation of all forms of external pressure and acts of aggression against the independent countries situated in the region. They express their support for the constructive initiatives of the nonaligned countries, the Contadora Group, and the Group of Support. They also endorse the Guatemala Agreement.

The Soviet Union and India believe that universal peace and stability can only be built on economically sound foundations. The establishment of a new international economic order on a just and equitable basis is the command of the times. Serious and crucial steps need to be taken to resolve the growing global debt problem and the crisis of the international monetary and financial system. The fall in commodities prices harms the interests of many countries. The obstacles to the transfer of technology have to be removed and artificial trade barriers dismantled. The resources saved as a result of disarmament should be transferred for development purposes. The decisions made by the UN Conference on Disarmament and Development should be implemented.

The two countries urge the adoption, with UN support, of a global strategy of environmental protection and the rational exploitation of the earth's resources.

The Soviet Union and India stress that the responsibility for the future of the world rests with all countries, big and small. The United Nations is an indispensable institution for finding peaceful solutions to international problems and crisis situations, and resolving other global issues. They note with satisfaction the recent growing activity of the United Nations and its bodies, and will further promote an increase in the authority and potential of this universal organization. At the same time, the UN system must adapt to and reflect the changing realities of the world so that it can better fulfill its mission.

The Soviet Union and India emphasize the outstanding role of the Nonaligned Movement in the world. It has emerged as a constructive and influential pioneering

forces for resolving the problems of peace, disarmament, and development, and has made its contribution to the relaxation of international tensions. The parties are deeply convinced that the movement will continue to play an ever-increasing role to meet the challenges confronting the world.

The two parties believe that people-to-people contacts between countries should be encouraged to improve trust and understanding. This could be done by developing tourism, trade, greater interaction among scholars, journalists, parliamentarians, politicians, and other representatives of the people as well as through festivals of culture.

Relations between the Soviet Union and India have deep roots, and are a model of constructive cooperation between two countries with different socio-political systems. They are characterised by sincere friendship and mutual understanding. They have witnessed a steady and uninterrupted growth for decades. The Soviet-Indian Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation is an outstanding milestone in their relations and provides a reliable and time-tested framework for the further development of these relations and for promoting peace and stability in Asia and the world. The fundamental importance of the treaty in the foreign policy priorities of the Soviet Union and India is even greater in today's changing world.

Regular visits at the highest level in recent years have given a qualitatively new character and dynamism to Soviet-Indian relations. These relations are marked by growing mutual trust, intensified economic, scientific and technological cooperation encompassing new areas and forms, and greater people-to-people contacts. This is reflected most vividly in the unprecedented large-scale festivals of India and the Soviet Union in each other's countries, marking the 40th anniversary of India's independence and the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Both have been unique events in spreading feelings of friendship and goodwill.

It was decided to continue the tradition of visits at the highest level, regular consultations and joint actions on the major issues before the world community today, such as disarmament, the peaceful settlement of regional disputes and conflicts, and the establishment of a more just and democratic world order.

In the economic sphere, they feel it is important to utilize to the fullest extent the new potential and opportunities created by the modernization and changing character of the Soviet and Indian economies. The two parties believe that it is essential to identify and take full advantage of the emerging complementariness in their respective economies to develop new forms of mutually advantageous economic cooperation, including joint ventures. It is necessary to modify the structure of trade and to evolve new strategies for ensuring dynamic growth. They will make every effort to maintain the accelerated growth in trade achieved since 1986 and will work out a long-term program for economic, trade, scientific and technical cooperation up to the year 2000.

The Soviet Union and India also agree that it is necessary to meet the increasing requirements of both countries for high quality products of latest technology by offering each other the latest indigenously developed technologies and working out specific cooperation projects, including through joint research and development.

The two parties reiterate their desire to continue the healthy tradition of the festivals between Indian states and Soviet republics, and to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the Soviet-Indian Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation and the 5th anniversary of the Delhi Declaration on the Principle of a Nuclear-Weapon-Free and Nonviolent World by holding cultural festivals, scientific symposiums, and public conferences.

The Soviet Union and India express their firm resolve to further develop and deepen their ties in all spheres. The development of Soviet-Indian relations serves the interest of their peoples and is an important factor in strengthening peace and security on a comprehensive basis, and in promoting development in Asia and throughout the world.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

R. Gandhi, prime minister of the Republic of India

### 3d Gandhi-Gorbachev Meeting

*LD2011173788 Moscow TASS in English 1727 GMT 20 Nov 88*

[Text] New Delhi November 20 TASS—The third one-on-one meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi, prime minister of India, was held in the presidential palace this morning. By its philosophical and political content it was the follow-up on the previous meetings.

The attention was focussed on the key elements of scientific and technical links and exchanges between the Soviet Union and India. The sides specified the questions of implementing the understandings reached and the agreements signed during the visit. They touched upon the issue of personnel support from both sides of their deepening interaction in all directions, of drawing on a regular basis scientists in elaborating the proposals for upgrading Soviet-Indian links.

The interlocutors devoted the greater part of the time to the exchange of views on the situation in various parts of the world, on chances and prospects for unblocking regional conflicts.

The talk, just like the previous ones, passed in an atmosphere of deep confidence in each other, mutual understanding, and readiness to look for more effective forms of cooperation for the benefit of both peoples, in the name of progress and peace.

[Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1800 GMT on 20 November in its "Vremya" newscast carries a report on the 3d round of talks between the Soviet and Indian leaders adding the following: "Taking part in them on the Soviet side were Foreign Minister Shevardnadze; Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Nishanov, first secretary of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan Central Committee; and Culture Minister Zakharov. On the Indian side were: External Affairs Minister Narasimha Rao; Defense Minister Pant; Human Resources Minister Shiv Shankar; and others. Matters of Soviet-Indian economic and commercial cooperation and the prospects for their future development were discused at the talks."]

## Gorbachev Meets Nyerere

*LD2011181888 Moscow TASS in English 1800 GMT 20 Nov 88*

[Text] New Delhi November 20 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev this morning met Julius Nyerere, chairman of the ruling revolutionary party of Tanzania (CCM), former president of the United Republic of Tanzania, who was in the Indian capital as a member of the international jury which awarded Indira Gandhi Prize to the Soviet leader.

Nyerere is the chairman of the South-South Commission of the Non-Aligned Movement. He informed Gorbachev about the activity of this commission which works to help coordinate and unify the developing countries in their relations with Western states.

In a brief but substantive talk the interlocutors touched upon several major issues of restructuring world links on the principles of justice and the balance of interests.

Gorbachev recalled about his high appraisal of the outcome of the conference of the Non-Aligned Movement in Harare, and wished the impetus it gave then not to lose force and that the movement use in fuller measure the potentialities of the United Nations, the universal organisation of the world community.

It was agreed that the leadership of the South-South Commission will establish a contact with respective Soviet representatives to discuss the issues of world economic relations, including the socialist world.

The interlocutors also exchanged views on settlement in the south of Africa.

## Farewell Ceremony

*PM2111100188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Nov 88 Morning Edition pp 1, 2*

[TASS report: "M.S. Gorbachev Returns to Moscow"]

[Text] Delhi, 20 Nov—The official farewell ceremony for M.S. Gorbachev was held at Rashtrapati Bhavan Presidential Palace.

...A spacious square in front of the presidential palace. M.S. Gorbachev and his wife arrived by car, accompanied by Indian President R. Venkataraman and his wife. The Soviet leader bade a warm farewell to members fo the Indian Government. After this he moved toward the center of the square and ascended a special platform. The head of the honor guard gave his report. The Soviet and Indian national anthems were played. M.S. Gorbachev inpsected the honor guard formation. This was followed by an artillery salute. The official cortege left for the airport. Along the route, the Soviet guests were greeted by thousands of Delhi residents. They held banners with slogans supporting friendship between the peoples of our two countries, and many waved Soviet and Indian flags.

In the crowded Sadar Patel-Marg street, Mikhail Gorbachev got out of his car. He was warmly greeted by the people there. Addressing them. Mikhail Gorbachev said: "I greet you, residents of Delhi. We have just concluded our talks with Rajiv Gandhi. We have agreed to continue to go together, to cooperate. The Soviet people wish India good progress and great successes." Mikhail Gorbachev then parted with the Delhi residents in the traditional Indian gesture of "Namaste." People chanted slogans: "Long live Mikhail Gorbachev!" "Long live Rajiv Gandhi!" "Long live Indian-Soviet friendship!"

Before the departure, a brief meeting was held between journalists and the two countries' leaders. Answering a TASS correspondent's question about the results of the Soviet-Indian talks, Rajiv Gandhi said: "We had a very wide exchange of views on very basic issues, on international issues, on economic issues, and on bilateral issues. And I can very confidently say that it has been a very successful visit and our relations have improved tremendously. They were already very good, they became much better."

Speaking about Mikhail Gobachev's statement, in his speech at the acceptance of the Indira Gandhi International Prize, to the effect that good relations between the Soviet Union, India, and China are extremely important for the future of Asia and for the world process, Rajiv Gandhi said: "We are for friendship in Asia and normalizing of all relations in Asia. In our opinion, this is very important for this region."

M.S. Gorbachev said: "It was a brief but very full visit and that is true of both the political aspect of the visit and the economic aspects of our relations, and of purely human relations. I believe that as a result of this visit our relations are rising to a new level.

"We have not just reiterated our allegiance to the traditions of the Delhi Declaration adopted during the previous visit, but we have succeeded in making fresh steps to maintain the line of cooperation between our great nations, between the two states in the context of understanding of their special responsibilities for the world situation, for international security. So we are satisfied with the visit. Goodbye."

### Further on Departure

*LD2011085288 Moscow TASS in English 0840 GMT 20 Nov 88*

[Text] New Delhi November 20 TASS—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev paid an official friendly visit to India at the invitation of its leadership from Nov. 18 to 20.

The distinguished Soviet guest and those accompanying him were given a warm, hearty welcome, part of a tradition of cordial friendship and sincere respect between the two countries.

Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the Soviet parliament, met with Indian President Ramaswami Venkataraman and Vice-President Shankar Dayal Sharma, apart from having talks and three one-to-one meetings with Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi.

At a special ceremony he was presented with the Indira Gandhi International Peace Prize.

The Soviet leader attended the closing ceremony of the Festival of the USSR in India, which together with the Festival of India in the Soviet Union has become a landmark event in the cultural interaction of the two nations.

Mikhail and Raisa Gorbachev paid homage to the memory of the late outstanding Indian leaders Mahatma Gandhi, Jawahar Lal Nehru and Indira Gandhi and placed wreaths at the sites of their cremation.

They also toured the Indian capital.

Raisa Gorbachev held meetings with representatives of the Indian public.

On Nov. 20 Mikhail Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi signed a Soviet-Indian summit statement and an agreement on cooperation in building a nuclear power station in India.

Within the framework of Gorbachev's visit officials accompanying him held negotiations with Indian colleagues. They attended a ceremony in New Delhi, where a monument to Aleksandr Pushkin was unveiled, and had meetings with representatives of the leaderships of the Indian National Congress (I), the Communist Party of India and the Communist Party of India (Marxist).

Other documents signed during the visit included:

An agreement between the Government of the USSR and the Government of the Republic of India on Long-Term Cooperation in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space for Peaceful Purposes,

An agreement between the Government of the USSR and the Government of the Republic of India on Cooperation in the Construction of the Second Phase of the Vindyachal Thermal Power Station in India,

An agreement between the Government of the USSR and the Government of the Republic of India on avoiding double taxation,

And a protocol on economic and technological cooperation in building power industry facilities.

Gorbachev expressed profound gratitude to the Goverment and people of India for the friendly reception they had given him and those accompanying him.

On behalf of the Soviet leadership he invited Indian President Venkataraman and Prime Minister Gandhi to pay official friendly visits to the Soviet Union. The invitations were accepted with gratitude. The specific dates of the visits will be agreed through diplomatic channels.

On Nov. 20 Mikhail Gobachev left for home after a farewell ceremony outside the presidential palace.

Just like the day of his arrival, he was greeted by tens of thousands of inhabitants of the Indian capital as his motorcade made its way along the streets. At the airport the Soviet leader was seen off by Prime Minister Gandhi, and other officials.

Eduard Shevardnadze, Vladimir Kamentsev, Vasiliy Zakharov and other comrades accompanying Gorbachev on the trip to India also left.

### Gorbachev Returns to Moscow

*LD2011161788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 20 Nov 88*

[Text] Moscow November 20 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, today returned to Moscow from New Delhi where he was staying on an official friendly visit at the invitation of the Indian leadership.

He was accompanied in the trip by Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister; Vladimir Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Rafik Nishanov, first secretary of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan Central Committee; and Vasiliy Zakharov, USSR culture minister.

At the airport, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was met by members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Vorotnikov, Zaykov, Ligachev, Medvedev, Nikonov, Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, Chebrikov, and Yakovlev; by candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Biryukova, Vlasov, Lukyanov, Razumovskiy, Talyzin, and Yazov; by CPSU Central Committee Secretary Baklanov; and by other comrades.

Among the meeting party was Budkhvar, the charge d'affaires of India to the USSR.

### Gandhi on 'Improved' Relations

*LD2011120188 Moscow TASS in English 1113 GMT 20 Nov 88*

[Text] New Delhi November 20 TASS—The Indian Prime Minister today described Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to India as 'Very good.' In a brief encounter with journalists before Gorbachev's departure, Rajiv Gandhi said in an answer to a question put by TASS correspondent Vladimir Baydashin:

"We had a very wide exchange of views on very basic issues—international issues, economic issues and bilateral issues, and I can very confidently say that it has been a very good visit and our relations have improved tremendously."

The relations between the two countries, Gandhi said, "were already very good, they became much better."

Asked to comment on Gorbachev's remarks made yesterday about the need for friendship among China, India and the Soviet Union, the Indian prime minister replied:

"We are for friendship in Asia and normalizing of all relations in Asia. We feel it is important for us in this area. But that must be a part of normalization of relations globally."

### Gandhi Comments on Results

*LD2011204988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 20 Nov 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast; interview with Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi by correspondent B. Kalyagin, identified by screen caption, on 20 November at Delhi airport; in English with superimposed Russian translation—recorded]

[Text] [Kalyagin] Mr Prime Minister, how do you assess the results of Comrade Gorbachev's visit?

[Gandhi] The visit has been successful in various, I would say, in all aspects. We discussed the most vital problems. The discussion also revolved around international affairs and our bilateral ties. We have achieved substantial progress in all spheres. The agreements we have signed reflect only a part of what we have managed to achieve.

[Kalyagin] How does the policy of restructuring influence our relations?

[Gandhi] We feel that with your policies of restructuring and glasnost, the ties between our two countries will become even more solid.

[Kalyagin] Thank you very much.

[Gandhi] Thank you. [Video shows interview on airport tarmac]

### Meeting With Indian Party Leaders

*LD2011004388 Moscow TASS in English 2219 GMT 19 Nov 88*

[Text] New Delhi November 20 TASS—Rafik Nishanov, first secretary of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan Central Committee, Karen Brutents and Yevgeniy Primakov, alternate members of the Soviet Communist Party (CPSU) Central Committee, have visited the headquarters of the Indian National Congress [INC] (I), the Communist Party of India and the Communist Party of India (Marxist), as part of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to India.

The Soviet party officials conveyed to Indian party leaders the warm greetings and best wishes from Mikhail Gorbachev and informed them in short about issues being tackled by the CPSU.

Taking part in the meeting at the INC (I) headquarters were general secretaries of the party's All-India Committee Vithal N. Gadgil, Ghulam Nabi Azad, Kedar Nath Singh and Oscar Fernandes, and secretary of the International Department of the All India Congress Committee (I) A. Matran. They emphasized that Gorbachev's visit is finding a broad response in all strata of Indian society and added that India was watching closely the process of restructuring in the Soviet Union which has a great potential for influencing international events.

Rajeshwara Rao, general secretary of the Communist Party of India National Council, Mukum Farooqi, secretary of the National Council, and N.D. Sundriyal, member of the National Council, said that Indian Communists were welcoming Gorbachev's visit.

"Our party has always been committed to the Soviet-Indian cooperation and backs the Indian Government's course towards this cooperation, just as is its foreign policy on the whole," Rao said.

Representatives of the Communist Party of India (Marxist)—members of the Politburo Central Committee Harkishan Singh Surjit, Makineni Basavapunnaiah, Samarnath Mukherjee, and the Central Committee member Sita Iechuri, said that their party regarded the visit as very important from the point of view of strengthening Soviet-Indian friendship and using its potentialities for producing a positive influence on international events in Asia and in the whole world.

### Meeting Honors Raisa Gorbacheva

*LD2011230088 Moscow TASS in English 1842 GMT 20 Nov 88*

[Text] New Delhi November 20 TASS—On the concluding day of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to India Janaki Venkataraman, wife of the president of the republic, arranged a meeting in honour of Raisa Gorbacheva. The meeting involved Sonia Gandhi, wife of the prime minister, Margaret Alva, Sheila Dikshit, Krishna Sahi, Rajendra Kumari Bajpai, ministers of the Indian Government, deputies of parliament, Aruna Asaf Ali, winner of the international Lenin Peace Prize, leaders of major women's organisations, eminent workers of Indian culture and art from various Indian states, and journalists.

A lively talk was held on the Soviet-Indian summit meeting, the atmosphere of cordiality and sincere friendliness in which it was held.

The talk also dealt with the role of women in political and social life in the Soviet Union and India, the contribution made by them to cementing Soviet-Indian friendship, this most valuable asset of the two peoples.

The Indian women who took part in the meeting warmly partied with Raisa Gorbacheva and asked her to convey the most cordial wishes to the women of the Soviet Union.

Raisa Gorbacheva thanked for the attention and the good feelings expressed. The fact that we are different and are committed to different political and philosophical principles is not a hurdle to the development of links, contacts and cooperation, she said. They are indispensable for asserting the universal human ideals of good, justice and peace.

## Sub-Saharan Africa

### 'Major Breakthrough' Achieved on Namibia Issue

*PM1811140188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Nov 88 First Edition pp 1, 5*

[Dispatches from Igor Tarutin in Harare and Vladimir Tyurkin in Luanda under the "Correspondents Comment" rubric: "Southwest Africa: Solution Comes Closer"; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] It is reported from Geneva that an accord in principle on the key issues of the dialogue has been reached at the consultations there among the participants of the quadripartite talks on a settlement in Southwest Africa. The delegations from Angola, Cuba, and South Africa (with U.S. mediation) have at last decided on a rough timeframe for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angolan territory and for the granting of independence to Namibia. The draft agreement will be submitted to the relevant countries' governments for approval. The outcome of the completed stage of the talks is commented on by PRAVDA correspondents in Harare and Luanda.

Harare—Basically, it is now possible to talk about the real possibility of putting a stop to the long crisis in Southwest Africa—one of the most complex in the world. Throughout recent months, while the talks have been going on, surges of optimism have alternated with spells of disappointment. This patchy progress was very keenly felt here, in the southern part of the dark continent. In fact, practically all the countries here are involved in one way or another with the Angola-Namibia tangle, if only because they form a united grouping of "Frontline" States in opposition to the South African regime. But despite the fact that the dialogue with Pretoria has been conducted by Luanda, the success should certainly be regarded as a common success.

Psychologically it is exceedingly important. The trend toward easing of tension in the region is becoming irreversible. It had been feared that at the last moment South Africa, as it has done more than once in the past, would backtrack and wreck the regional detente process. Now it looks like it has crossed the Rubicon.

Incidentally, the progress that has been made is significant not only for Africa. In the first place, because the Namibian problem is international and is being dealt with directly by the United Nations. In the second place, we are encountering the first example of the resolution of a regional conflict with the help of two great powers who are not directly involved in the conflict. The United States was a direct participant in the talks. The USSR acted as an observer, but on occasions it actively joined in the quest for mutually acceptable compromises. Even the South African press acknowledged that it was the constructive role of the Soviet representative that once saved the situation by preventing the failure of a meeting.

Of course, the current positive change in the situation in Angola and Namibia would scarcely have been possible without the overall improvement in the world climate, without the influence of the ideas of new political thinking. The experience accumulated in the region could well come in useful in such equally explosive spots as the Near East, Central America....

Luanda—It is particularly gratifying that the main barrier has finally been overcome in the diplomatic marathon that has gone on for years in Southwest Africa—the "linkage" Washington and Pretoria have insisted on for years has been resolved. In its original form this "linkage" took the following form—on the day and at the hour when South Africa commences fulfillment of UN

Security Council Resolution 435 on Namibia Cuban troops will have to start withdrawing from Angola and also complete the withdrawal simultaneously with the evacuation of the last South African soldiers from Namibia. The aggressor and the victim of aggression were thus placed on a par, although this approach was clearly absurd and wrong, one would have thought.

But what happened in the end was that the creators got tangled up in their own "linkage." The occupation of Namibia and aggression against Angola (and this is what forced Luanda to turn to Havana for assistance) ended not only in failure on the battlefield and in a moral and political fiasco for the regime in South Africa itself, but in overstretched finances and an impossible burden for the economy of apartheid as a whole.

It was clear then that a policy based on illusions and farfetched designs was unviable. This was particularly evident this year, when the "linkage" rebounded on efforts by South Africa and the United States to achieve their objectives at the negotiating table rather than on the battlefield. Washington's and Pretoria's original plans began to come apart at the seams and they effectively had to be abandoned. In any case, South Africa is now committed to halting the occupation of Namibia as a preliminary step.

The tactically flexible position of Angola and Cuba was very significant too. While fundamentally rejecting "linkage," they agreed to discuss the problem of the withdrawal of Cuban troops not only in the context of their bilateral relations, but also with a view to the development of the general situation in the region. In other words, it has been possible to switch the question of the future conclusion of the Cuban internationalists' mission to the sphere of a broad settlement of the conflict as a whole, and, above all, the safeguarding of Angola's independence, statehood, territorial integrity, and sovereignty.

At the same time, it is perhaps too early to talk of a final victory of common sense, of total triumph for the sober approach to the region's problems. Difficult work lies ahead and anything can happen. But a major breakthrough has been made and it should be given its due.

### Portuguese Beam Comments

*LD1711103888 Moscow in Portuguese to Africa 1830 GMT 16 Nov 88*

[Text] An agreement in principle has been reached at the quadripartite talks between representatives of the People's Republic of Angola [PRA], Cuba, South Africa, and the United States on the framework of agreements for the settlement of the situation in southwestern Africa. According to reports, the timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from the PRA has been coordinated. Thus, the main obstacle in the talks has been eliminated. Igor Potovskiy from Radio Moscow's African service comments.

[Potovskiy] Good evening. This time we can perhaps really say that these talks have reached a decisive stage. This expression has been used several times, but its use has not always been justified. The situation is now different. The pre-agreement is to be submitted to the governments. Then an official round of talks in Brazzaville is planned as well as setting a date for signing the final agreements. As is known, the substance of the talks and their outcome are to be kept secret; but according to reports, the parties involved agreed in Geneva to the withdrawal of Cuban troops over 24 months. This could open the Brazzaville door, Neil van Heerden, head of the South African delegation, said. However, it should be noted that the parties in the talks are not expressing their previous optimism. [passage indistinct]

South African Foreign Minister Roelof Botha reacted cautiously to the outcome of the consultations: The government has not yet had the opportunity to study the current state of affairs and the latest proposals. This is why Pretoria will not be giving its answer yet, since serious and complex implications have to be taken into consideration.

As I understand it, these are the possible reaction of the country's white population, above all (?only) the most conservative part, including the Army. They are not at all in favor of independence of Namibia. At the end of the day, it will be necessary to say "yes" or "no." The room for maneuver over the Namibian independence issue has been exhausted by the South African Government. It is necessary to note that at the present stage a step backward could have serious consequences.

### RSA To Seek Delay on Withdrawal From Angola

*WA18070029 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Oct 88 p 5*

[Article by A. Vasin, under the rubric "The World Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow": "The Republic of South Africa Breaks Its Commitments"]

[Text] Agreements must be observed. But, it seems, this rule was not written for the regime of Pretoria. Lately, it seemed that something had begun to change in the behavior of the Government of South Africa. Pretoria entered into a quadripartite agreement with Angola, Cuba, and the United States, withdrew its troops from the occupied part of Angola, and agreed with the need to implement UN Security Council Resolution 435 on granting independence to Namibia. Quite recently South African President Botha visited Malawi, Mozambique, Zaire, and the Ivory Coast, where he talked in conciliatory tones with the leaders of these African states.

But here is the catch. A report just released by the Namibian news agency NAMPA states that South Africa has decided to delay the earlier agreed upon date for beginning implementation of Resolution 435 from 1

November 1988 to 1 January 1989. In Pretoria, P. Botha simultaneously announced the "impossibility" of beginning decolonization of Namibia by the November deadline set.

So, South Africa, with obvious connivance of its American tutors, has broken the agreement between these two countries—both Cuba and Angola—that the withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia would begin on 1 November. Following this there were to be free democratic elections and the proclamation of this country's independence, which before World War I was possession of Germany and later came under control of the government of Pretoria.

This step, the Angola news agency ANGOP emphasizes, is a violation of the Geneva quadripartite agreements on a cease-fire in southern Angola and northern Namibia, since South Africa has stepped up movements and supply of UNITA bandits in the area of the Angola border.

Just why has South Africa taken this step, abruptly shifting the situation in this regions from lines of dialogue to the path of confrontation? Apparently, there are two reasons. First of all, Pretoria decided to use this to put pressure on Luanda and Havana, which at recent unofficial consultations in New York refused to agree to the immediate withdrawal of Cuban internationalist troops from Angola. The Cubans are helping the republic's armed forces to repel the sallies of UNITA terrorists supported by South Africa and the United States. The Cuban representative at the talks at that time, C. Aldan, stated that Cuba and Angola believe that the troop withdrawal must be accomplished gradually, being certain of Angola's security. Thus, Pretoria is openly speculating on the problem of Cuban troops, trying by any means to remain a "factor of force" in the sub-region.

Secondly, the ultra-right forces, chiefly Afrikaaners, in South Africa itself have sharply gained momentum, accusing even President Botha and his ruling National Party of almost being soft and yielding. In such a situation, going ahead with the troop withdrawal from Namibia could seriously risk the government's chances for victory in the municipal elections scheduled for 26 October in South Africa.

Nevertheless, it would be naive to believe that today's decision by Pretoria with respect to South West Africa, as Namibia is sometimes called, is merely some psychological dislocation or brief relapse of an old illness in a patient confidently recovering from former aggressiveness.

It is no coincidence that this news was painfully received in the capitals of Black Africa. The prominent African figure and chairman of the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania, J. Nyerere, called upon all African countries to break off relations with Pretoria.

## Similarity Seen in RSA, Palestinian Situations

*MB1811105288 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1800 GMT 17 Nov 88*

["South Africa Today" feature by Aleksandr Fedorov—read by announcer]

[Text] At first glance, the topic to be discussed in today's program has no direct relation to South Africa [words indistinct] proclaimed the formation of the independent Palestinian state, with the capital in Jerusalem, from the Israeli-occupied Arab lands. Judging by reports from Tel Aviv, the news caused much concern in Israel. It seems to me this political act may also cause concern among the South African leadership.

It is not accidental that the South African mass media were quick to report the results of the special session of the Palestinian parliament. The results were not accidental, and the South African authorities repeated, almost word for word, the statement made by the Israeli prime minister, Yitzhaq Shamir. The statement rejects the possibility of talks with the Palestine Liberation Organization on the withdrawal from the occupied Palestinian territories.

The spirit of alliance is not the only explanation. On course, there is now complete similarity between what is going on in Israel and in South Africa. Nevertheless, both countries occupy other nations' territories and violate the human rights of the indigenous population.

The proclamation of the Palestinian state is an act of historical inevitability, the inevitability which occurred over the past few years in Angola, Mozambique, and later in Zimbabwe. History shows exploitation cannot last forever, and changes are bound to come. This is probably realized by the South African leadership. It knows the country cannot be [words indistinct] despite [words indistinct] by Pieter Botha. The policy of apartheid, built on racial hatred, is steadily being eroded. This process of erosion is [words indistinct] within the country, also be events taking place in other countries. Is it possible that what happened in the Israeli-occupied Palestinian territory would echo in the lands occupied by South Africa?

Speaking about the lands occupied by South Africa, I mean the common [word indistinct] about the existence of two South Africas: The South Africa which occupies the best lands and natural resources and [word indistinct] the best workplaces and a South Africa which is deprived of all. The second South Africa has shown the results of the recent politicized municipal elections supports those who set up their [words indistinct] of self-government, who disobeyed orders about resettlement and those who do not pay for their housing, which can hardly be called [word indistinct] opposing the system of [word indistinct] democracy by its supporters in the white community. This took shape after the parties of the liberal opposition—the Progressive Federal, the Progressive Independent, and the

National Democratic Movement—decided to form a united front at the forthcoming parliamentary elections. They call for abolishing [word indistinct] on separate development of races and speak in favor of talks with the African National Congress. [Word indistinct] bringing together those struggling for justice. The national Palestinian Council set up a new democratic parliamentary state, based on freedom of choice, on the multiparty system, freedom of religion, and equality. These principles are similar to a draft constitution worked out by the African National Congress.

There is another point: The decision by the Palestinian parliament has become an important contribution to the political settlement in the region. What we call important to South Africa. This could remove the threat of war and would give the opportunity for nine countries, with a population of over 90 million people, to tackle the [words indistinct] problems.

## East Europe

### Public Gatherings in Yugoslavia Reported

*LD1911220388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 19 Nov 88*

[Text] Under the slogan 'Brotherhood and Unity' a vast solidarity meeting of Yugoslav workers was held in Belgrade today. Hundreds of thousands of inhabitants of the capital and of many towns and villages in Serbia and in a number of other Yugoslav republics gathered there. Those taking part in the meeting came out in support of the policy of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia aimed at overcoming the crisis in the country, at carrying out economic and political reforms, and at normalizing the situation in the autonomous province of Kosovo.

Chauvinism and nationalist terror can only be removed by means of the organized action of all progressive forces, of a united front of Albanians, Serbians, Montenegrins, and representatives of other nations and nationalities of the province, the meeting stressed.

### Yazov Ends Yugoslavia Trip, Returns to Moscow

*PM2111113888 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Nov 88 First Edition p 1*

[TASS report: "Visit Over"]

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Nov—The final meeting between Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, who is on an official friendly visit to Yugoslavia, and Colonel General V. Kadijevic, SFRY federal secretary for national defense, was held in Dubrovnik today. Questions of mutual interest with regard to the development of military contracts between the two countries were discussed.

The SFRY federal secretary for national defense held a luncheon in the Soviet guest's honor.

In the afternoon Army Gen D.T. Yazov left for home. He was seen off at the airport by Colonel General V. Kadijevic and other officials.

Army Gen D.T. Yazov returned to Moscow the same day.

He was met at the airport by N.V. Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Army General P.G. Lushev, USSR first deputy defense minister; Army Generals Ye.F. Ivanovskiy and V.M. Arkhipov, USSR deputy defense ministers; Fleet Admiral A.I. Sorokin, first deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; and other officials

M. Veres, SFRY ambassador to the USSR, was among the welcoming party.

### Soviet-Yugoslav Cooperation Talks Concluded

*LD1911192288 Moscow TASS in English 1513 GMT 19 Nov 88*

[Text] Belgrade November 19 TASS—The inter-governmental Soviet-Yugoslav committee on economic, scientific and technological cooperation has held its 26th session here.

The economic reforms carried out by the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, speakers at the session observed, opened up broad opportunities for the further deepening and development of trade and economic relations between Soviet and Yugoslav organizations with the use of effective forms of economic cooperation: Co-production, direct production and scientific and technical ties, joint ventures.

Signed during Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Yugoslavia in March this year, the long-term programme for economic cooperation between the USSR and Yugoslavia through the year 2000 gave a powerful impetus to developing new forms of cooperation between the Soviet and Yugoslav partners.

All that [as received] calls for changing the character of the activity of the inter-governmental committee itself, which is to take into account new possibilities of the two countries' economic organizations.

The committee agreed upon a new list of projects to be built or modernized on Yugoslav territory with Soviet technological assistance.

An agreement was signed on long-term deliveries of natural gas to Yugoslavia.

The sides stressed the importance of the further development of economic cooperation among individual republics in the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.

The committee gave special attention to issues of balancing payments between the USSR and Yugoslavia. The sides agreed upon a package of measures directed at balancing accounts, including credit and financing transactions, use of economic tools in each country on regulating export-import deliveries.

The 26th session of the committee was held in a frank, business-like and comradely atmosphere.

The Soviet delegation to the talks was led by Ivan Silayev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and the Yugoslav delegation was headed by Janez Zemljaric, vice president of the Federal Executive Council.

The head of the Soviet delegation was received by Branko Mikulic, president of Yugoslavia's Federal Executive Council.

**Group Protests Romanian Vilage Policy**
*LD1711101788 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 16 Nov 88*

[Text] The Soviet Democratic Transformation group has protested the destruction of Romanian villages. Jozsef Barath reports from Moscow:

The members of the independent and self-organizing group Soviet Democratic Transformation have issued a statement of protest in which they explain their position regarding the Romanian village destruction program. They say that in Romania the national minorities have lost their autonomy and this could lead to ethnocide, the elimination of the existence of minorities. Something that now appears a mere administrative measure could lead to consequences that are impossible to foresee, damaging European civilization as a whole. This is the view of the Democratic Perestroyka [as heard] organization, whose activities were recently evaluated favorably by PRAVDA. The group timed the appeal to appear on 15 November, when there were protests in several European cities. The appeal was sent to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and is being circulated through the informational network of the informal self-organizing collectives [phrase as heard].

## West Europe

**Bomb Damages Geneva Aeroflot Office 18 November**
*LD1811175588 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1735 GMT 18 Nov 88*

[Text] Geneva, 18 Nov (TASS)—This afternoon, a bomb was exploded by unknown persons at Aeroflot's offices in Geneva. There were casualties among passers-by, four of whom were taken to the canton hospital. The building was damaged. A spokesman for the town's police authorities told journalists that the police have no information about the identity of those who committed this terrorist act.

**FRG Banker Cited on Cooperation With USSR**
*PM1711140388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 4*

[Report by own correspondent Ye. Grishin: "Relations are Acquiring New Quality—This Is the View of an Eminent West German Banker"]

[Text] Frankfurt am Main—A session of the Soviet-West German banking commission will be held in Kiev 16-17 November. The FRG will be represented in particular by Wolfgang Roeller, chairman of the board of the Dresdner Bank, who came to the USSR recently as a member of a business delegation during Chancellor H. Kohl's visit. It was then, according to W. Roeller, that the financial foundation was laid for implementing projects in the light and food industry spheres. Our correspondent talked with W. Roeller on the eve of his latest trip to our country.

The Dresdner Bank, in the view of its president, attaches great importance to trade with the East and is willing to participate in financing deals with Soviet partners. To strengthen economic links, it was the first Western bank to open, in 1973, an office in Moscow to better study the Soviet market and react more flexibly to its needs. There is a lot happening in the Soviet Union at the moment, W. Roeller believes. There is an obvious trend toward a greater variety of forms and methods of banking activity. Of course, many questions require clarification, for example, the financing of joint enterprises, but the problems can be solved. To provide optimal backup for Soviet-West German trade turnover the Dresdner Bank is utilizing all the resources at its disposal: credit and finance for deals, and the joint study of new projects.

We are now at a new phase in relations, according to W. Roeller. Simple trade exchange is giving way to various forms of collaboration, up to its supreme form—the establishment of joint enterprises. That 90 enterprises of this type, including 13 with West German firms, had been registered by September is indicative of the active utilization of this form of cooperation. Collaboration will become increasingly significant in the future.

The creation of a joint consultative financial institution in Moscow would be a rational extension of existing forms of "joint ventures," the interlocutor said. The formation of such an enterprise would impart new impetus to this process. The FRG is keeping a close eye on developments in this sphere and is prepared to study carefully and amicably Soviet proposals on the Dresdner Bank's participation in such a project.

The upcoming banking commission session in Kiev intends to discuss in what way banks can provide finance for projects and what specifically must be done to activate and improve trade. Naturally, the theme of the

creation of new joint enterprises will occupy an important place. The commission session will provide an opportunity to exchange views on other topical questions of bilateral cooperation, too.

Concerning the problem of artificial restrictions on exports to the USSR, W. Roeller noted that experience has demonstrated that the embargo is economically unsound. That a revision of the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls lists is currently being worked on speaks for itself. Soviet cooperation in international organizations, in GATT, for example, could contribute to eliminating existing trade barriers. He expressed the hope that the political difficulties in the way of this step will be removed eventually. The favorable political relations between East and West create good prerequisites for this.

## Political & Social

### Supsov Deputies Discuss 'Comments' on Draft Laws

#### Razumovskiy: Crucial Step to Reform

*LD1911214588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1500 GMT 19 Nov 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] In the Kremlin today a session was held of the legislative proposals commissions of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The deputies discussed the suggestions and comments generated by the nationwide discussion on the draft laws of the USSR on amendments and additions to the Constitution and the USSR law on elections of people's deputies. [video shows people sitting in room, camera pans table showing Lukyanov, Voss, and Mentsehashvili and then shows Lomonosov speaking]

The report of Comrade Lomonsov, leader of the deputies' commission, and the deputies' speeches noted that over 120,000 suggestions and comments had come in to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the legislative proposals commission from citizens, labor collectives, public organizations, scientific and educational establishments, and mass information media. The responses, appeals and comments about the drafts contain many constructive suggestions. All the suggestions that have come in and critical comments have been carefully considered by the deputies' preparatory commission; many of them have been taken into account and are reflected in the draft laws.

Summing up the preliminary results of the discussion of the suggestions and comments on the draft laws, Comrade Razumovskiy said. [video shows Razumovskiy]

[Begin recording] Comrades, we are on the threshold of adopting most important state decisions. What is involved is the practical implementation of the resolutions of the 19th all union party conference on questions concerning the democratization of Soviet society and the reform of the political system. Although the draft laws considered today are just the first step on the path toward implementing this reform, they are a crucial step. It affects the structure and the forms of the activities of the organs of power, above all the highest ones, and in reality opens up the way for soviets of people's deputies to have full power.

One ought to stress once again that at the present stage, as has been envisaged by the party conference, the task of reconsidering the Constitution as a whole is not being posed. At the beginning it is necessary to resolve questions which have been thought through, weighed up and whose resolution is extremely necessary, and then to get down to the things that follow.

Therefore, the drafts do not affect the sections of the existing Constitution about the economic system, about national and state organization, about the individual's legal position, and some others. On the whole, the discussion has shown that our people have a great interest in the soviets' working with greater return. This is what unites all thoughts and all suggestions, the absolute majority, at any rate, of the suggestions that have come in. But there have also been appeals which have been critical toward the drafts on the whole, unsubstantiated judgements about an alleged contraction of democracy. What draws attention is that many of them have been written with carbon paper or even by a printing method. Messages of the latter type have also been received by the supreme soviet presidium. They are entirely lacking in any sort of specific remarks or proposals. One has to state with regret that this form has not enriched our discussion.

The following suggestion has also come in, that only amendments to the Constitution concerning elections of people's deputies should be examined and that all questions concerning the organization of the highest bodies and defining their functions should be decided later.

However, it is absolutely obvious that one cannot hold elections without having a notion of and without enshrining in the Constitution in some fundamental form, at least, provisions concerning the way the highest power is to be organized and what functions it will possess. To follow this path would be the same as occupying a house without first completing its construction. As has been noted, all the suggestions that came in have been carefully studied by the preparatory commission on constitutional draft alone, amendments have been introduced to 24 of the 53 articles submitted for discussion. Over 40 amendments have been proposed.

It is not a matter of the number of amendments. It is important to note that they remove many matters that gave rise to disagreement in the course of the discussion. This concerns in particular relations between central authority and the republics. An opportunity is being created for the republics to decide independently matters relating to the powers of their state bodies. We intend to expand the membership of the committee for supervision of the Constitution so as to include in it representatives from every union republic which will also ensure fuller consideration of the interests and sovereign rights of the republics.

A great proportion of the letters and appeals that have come in concern the electoral system. The amendments being made taking them into account substantially enrich the draft laws submitted. It seems necessary in particular to support the numerous suggestions from citizens, the local soviet aktiv and labor collectives, and remove from the draft law on elections the clause on only collectives numbering as a rule no less than 500 workers

having the right to nominate a candidate. This will give many organizations and a greater number of labor collectives the opportunity to take part in the formation of the body of deputies.

As for other suggestions voiced today, the comrades voiced many interesting ideas that deserve additional examination and study. And let us adopt this decision: that the preparatory commissions with the same members and involving specialists, scientists, lawyers, all those that will help them draw up correct, precise proposals, shall continue to work in order to inform the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium both of these proposals and others. We are sitting here and the proposals are coming in and they will continue coming in for a fairly long time to come. This is the decision that I would like to propose for adoption. Are there any objections? It is adopted. [end recording]

In accordance with the instruction of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the session of the legislative proposals commissions also examined the decisions adopted by the Estonian Supreme Soviet on 16 November 1988. The commissions concluded that these decisions contain a number of provisions contradictory to the provisions of the USSR Constitution upon which provisions of the soviet socialist federation is founded. The expanded conclusion of the commissions on the said question has been presented to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Comrade Lukyanov and the leaders of a number of USSR ministries and departments took part in the session.

## 40 Clarifications Proposed

*PM2111125988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 4*

[Own special correspondent M. Kushtapin report: "Deputies Vote in Favor of Amendments"]

[Text] A joint session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities Legislative Proposals Commissions was held in the Kremlin last Saturday. It summed up the results of discussion of the proposals and observations made in connection with the draft USSR Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution and the draft USSR Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies.

Our newspaper has kept readers informed of the work of the deputies' preparatory commission. More than 120,000 observations and proposals have been sent to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium from citizens, labor collectives, state and social bodies, and the mass media. Every one of these proposals has been carefully studied by specialists and legal experts and discussed by deputies.

What is more, both specialists and deputies have worked with open doors, so to speak, inviting representatives of the union republics to their sessions.

It is proposed to make more than 40 amendments and clarifications to the draft Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution, which will affect 24 of the articles submitted for discussion. They are all designed to further develop glasnost and democracy, improve and harmonize relations between the USSR and the union republics, and strengthen the sovereignty of the soviets, as bodies of broad popular representation of all classes, social groups, and social strata. It is also proposed to make dozens of amendments to the draft USSR Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies. The new editions of some articles take account of observations and wishes which broaden and deepen the organizational and legal consolidation of the 19th all-union party conference's political decisions.

The joint session of the legislative proposals commissions also discussed the acts approved by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet at its extraordinary session 16 November. The commissions registered the divergence between the Estonian SSR Law on Amendments and Additions to the Estonian SSR Constitution and the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Declaration on the Sovereignty of the Estonian SSR and the USSR Constitution. The aforementioned acts come under Article 74 of the USSR Constitution, according to which the USSR Law is applied in the event of any divergence between the law of a union republic and all-union law. In their conclusion the commissions raised the question with the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium of the need to declare invalid Articles 2, 3, 4, and 5 of the Estonian SSR Law and Paragraphs 3 and 4 of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Declaration of 16 November 1988 and to propose that the republic's supreme soviet abrogate the aforementioned acts as running counter to the USSR Constitution and USSR laws. With regard to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet resolution on the draft laws submitted for nationwide discussion, the amendments and proposals contained in it will be studied and submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. It has been decided to discuss the proposals concerning questions of national-state structure, including the question of the union republic's legal status, during the further preparation of proposals on introducing amendments and additions to existing Soviet legislation regulating interethnic relations.

All the commissions' decisions were unanimously approved, with two deputies abstaining from the vote—the Estonian and Latvian representatives.

The joint commission session was chaired by G.P. Razumovskiy, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and chairman of the Soviet of the Union Legislative Proposals Commission.

The following took part in the session: A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Yu.N. Khristoradnov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union; A.E. Voss, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities; T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

### Estonia's Ryuytel Meets Lukyanov

*LD1811194388 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 18 Nov 88*

[From the "Echo of the Day" program]

[Text] Good evening. As tonight's program will be very pithy, we will begin right with (?the main issue.) As is known, President Arnold Ryuytel was invited to Moscow yesterday. He was accompanied at the talk at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium by Arno Almann. The editorial board held a telephone interview with Almann. Over now to Lembit Karri.

[Karri] Yesterday a threatening note, couched in a serious tone, was circulated on the radio and television and in the newspapers to the effect that the laws adopted at the extraordinary session of our supreme soviet with respect to both the USSR and the Estonian constitutions reached beyond their limits of power and that lofty commissions are threatening to [word indistinct]. It also was serious that yesterday Arnold Ryuytel, president of our republic, was invited very promptly to Moscow, to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. We have been keeping our fingers crossed all day long today. In the evening, however, the information services of Estonian television and radio held a telephone interview with Arno Almann, who likewise went to the talk at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. So here is the long-awaited news in Estonia today:

[Begin Almann recording] Today we had a conversation at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium with Comrade Anatoliy Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the Presidium. The main subject under discussion was the extraordinary session of the republican supreme soviet and the resolutions it adopted. We informed the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium once again of how the discussion on the all-union draft law took place in our republic and what its main conclusions, stances, and assessments were with regard to the [word indistinct] drafts under discussion in work collectives, at local soviet sessions, among scientists, and [word indistinct]. We noted that in the process of these discussions, many suggestions were made to improve the republican constitution because the constitutional norms existing in both the all-union and republican constitutions create in themselves a homogeneous whole [words indistinct]. Hence the need to introduce corresponding amendments into our republic's constitution, taking into account the proposals and the will of the people.

A very frank dialogue took place, and our stances were viewed very attentively. With regard to the question of changing Article 74 of our constitution, it was indeed noted that there exists a contradiction here with Article 74 of the existing USSR Constitution. We do not deny this, and we once again (?view) as an additional guarantee for securing such constitutional [words indistinct] than what has been set out as coming under republican jurisdiction. [Word indistinct] that those problems—problems of restructuring, democratization, the economy, and the social sphere—really [words indistinct]. These positions of ours will be considered by the corresponding commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the commission of drafts, and then, according to the conclusions drawn by the commission, (?it will be looked at) at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The date of the presidium session has not been determined yet, as far as we know. I would like to tell everyone listening today that we have, so to speak, no grounds for panic. We can see that the process of restructuring is indeed something that is taking place through a struggle of contradictions, and progress toward a state governed by the rule of law also will take place [words indistinct] through different opinions and positions, and that is how it should [words indistinct] toward the law-ruled state. [end recording]

### Latvian Jurists Meet Lukyanov

*LD2011104388 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 0830 GMT 20 Nov 88*

[Text] This week across the most varied strata of Latvia's society interest and efforts to collaborate proposals could be seen in discussing the USSR draft laws for changes and amendments to the USSR Constitution and the election of people's deputies.

On 17 November a meeting of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium took place at which a special resolution was adopted on these draft laws. It has been published in Latvia's press. The changes in the Constitution to which the representatives of Latvia's Parliament have objections and which they recommend to amend have been included in it. The resolution gives the main principles that should be observed in the election of people's deputies.

On Friday a group of Latvia's representatives, led by the chairman of the supreme soviet presidium, Anatolijs Gorbunovs, went to Moscow. In the group were several of Latvia's leading legal specialists and the chairman of the board of the People's Front of Latvia, Dainis Ivans.

In Moscow Latvia's delegation was received by the deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade Lukyanov. Our republic's representatives also had a meeting with the authors of the USSR Constitution's alteration and amendment draft law, the group of jurists

who have shaped it. They have recognized their conception as not completely formulated and and have agreed to the participation of jurists of union republics in summarizing proposals, complaints, and proposed alterations.

### 16 Nov Session on Output Quality

*PM1811120588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 2*

[Report by Yu. Rytov: "In the Interests of the Consumer; Notes From USSR Council of Ministers Presidium Session"]

[Text] The date is 16 November, 1500 hours. The oval hall of the Government Center in the Kremlin. Alongside other questions it has been decided to examine the draft law on the quality of output.

Let me remind readers that the first discussion of the document was described by IZVESTIYA in the summer of this year (issue number 206) in a report entitled "Quality: Guiding or Controlling." At the time, if you remember, the text submitted was sharply criticized by those taking part in the session and then unanimously rejected. Why? Of course, it was not a case of details, although they too were mentioned. The very concept of the draft was unacceptable. Those taking part in that session described it very accurately, in my view: "The emphasis is on old, obsolete methods of economic management based on administration through command." It was noted in particular that many clauses of the document which had been prepared directly contradicted the law on the state enterprise and limited labor collectives' autonomy and rights.

Essentially the document had to be prepared anew. An expanded working group including eminent scholars—economists and lawyers—engaged in this.

Once again it is premature to describe all the specific positions of the document which has been submitted. Alas!.. It has been returned again to be worked up. And a tough deadline has been set—20 days. But the Council of Ministers Presidium nonetheless considered that the materials which had been prepared could this time be viewed as the basis for working up the draft. And then it is planned to submit the draft document for nationwide discussion.

Yes, there were still questions and comments. But I personally was struck by something else. The main interest of the Presidium members was focused on how the new draft law could protect consumers' interests. That is, the interests of all us ordinary citizens. The draft includes a special section providing for such protection. In particular it proposes creating unions and societies for the protection of consumers...

But here A. Biryukova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, gets up. She asks why the draft of the new law includes the following point: "Consumer durables may be replaced only after they have been repaired three times under guarantee"? Why not replace them immediately if the customer is displeased with something, dissatisfied with something?

And it began... Ministers leaped from their seats and explained. That cannot be, they said, because it sometimes cannot be. For instance, what to do with automobiles? If the carburetor has been spoiled, should the entire vehicle be replaced immediately?

But A. Biryukova stood her ground. "It is not an automobile," she said, "but a simple coffee grinder which should be taken as an example, like the one I bought 6 weeks ago. It doesn't work. Should I invoke the guarantee pledges?—it doesn't work..."

The scholarly men tried to explain that a coffee grinder is a trifle, that the draft law discusses far more serious positions. The chair did not accept their position and immediately noted that the new law should fully protect the interests of Soviet citizens, the interests of consumers...

On hearing these debates, and they flared up not as part of the schedule but spontaneously, I had the following thought. We have proclaimed a strong social policy. Can it be that these words will remain simply words, another slogan to brainwash simple people?

I should like to assure you that everything has changed. Yes, during the discussion in the government of all national economic affairs, it is social issues which henceforth are to be placed first always, in all cases and all circumstances.

This was also manifested in the discussion of the first point on the agenda submitted for discussion by the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium: "Preparing for the Winter."

B. Shcherbina, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, spoke. All ministers whose enterprises form part of the fuel and energy complex spoke from the rostrum. The figures were favorable. And there are no special grounds for alarm. But again and again the chair asked: In 1990 will we ensure the population's unlimited supply with fuel?

The ministers spoke and stated: We will do everything, we will ensure everything.

Believe them, believe them not? You can't tell by pulling the petals off a daisy!

The chair recalled once again that if there is a hard winter we will turn off energy supplies not for kindergartens but for industrial enterprises. And then... Do you understand that, comrade ministers?

The ministers nodded: We will do everything, we will ensure everything.

And here one more question flared up, one to which all those taking part in the session returned repeatedly: Whence this sudden lack of obligation at all levels, why can one enterprise leader not reach agreement directly with another?

Particularly sharp criticism (I stress, particularly sharp) was levelled against the activity of the USSR Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building and the sector's leader, V. Lukyanenko.

"I respected and continue to respect this man," the chair stressed. "But do I have the right to respect any minister despite the results of his activity? I do not have that right. I can judge each one only on the basis of real facts: Exactly how the sectors they head are working... I have sought many people's advice and asked them: What are we to do with the Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building? And I am receiving no sensible answer. Either the minister is the wrong man, or the people who suggest irrational solutions to him are the wrong people..."

And again the problem came down to social questions. If there is no petrochemical equipment there will be no oil. Do the ministers understand that?

They all understand, they understand everything. But L. Voronin could not restrain himself and asked to speak out of turn:

"What is happening to us? Is this a dispatchers' conference or a session of the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium? Every minister speaking here is showing how well he works himself and how badly his comrade ministers are working.

"I consider the speeches by some ministers at this session to be unbecoming and unseemly," he said. "To wit—the speeches by M. Shchadov, minister of the coal industry, and N. Konarev, minister of railroads. Instead of reaching agreement with each other and elaborating a common platform of actions, they have organized mutual recrimination here, trying to draw members of the Council of Ministers Presidium into it."

L. Voronin's statement was resolutely supported by the chair. Moreover, he proposed that a note about the two ministers' unseemly conduct be included in the protocol of the session of the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium.

Why am I describing this? The social orientation of our life, with which I began my report from the session, has many sources. But the most important is glasnost. So let people know who is leading them and what assessment these leaders receive "from below" and "from above."

M. Busygin, minister of the timber industry, was also sharply criticized.

N. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, led the session and addressed it.

The USSR Council of Ministers Presidium session also examined other important questions of the country's social and economic life.

### Deputies View Estonian Decision

*PM2111103288 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 20 Nov 88 p 5*

[TASS correspondent L. Perkina report including interviews with V.I. Kazakov, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers; Sh.M. Aliyev, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR People's Control Committee; and A.Ya. Rybakov, chairman of the Machine Building and Instrument Making Workers Trade Union Central Committee: "Proceeding on the Basis of Statewide Interests: Three Opinions From USSR Supreme Soviet Deputies"]

[Text] Everyday the USSR Supreme Soviet continues to examine the materials from the nationwide discussion of the Draft Law on Amendments and Additions to the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the USSR and the Draft Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies. Working parties and the deputies preparatory commission are discussing in detail every proposal and observation and every proposed amendment. After all, they should all achieve their goal: If incorporated into the draft, they will help to ensure people's power and strengthen the participation of the broad people's masses in the management of the country.

A report has come in that a session of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet adopted an amendment to Article 74 of that republic's Constitution to the effect that the highest organs of power of the Estonian SSR can in some circumstances suspend or set limits on the application of legislative and other acts of the USSR. A TASS correspondent asked members of the deputies preparatory commission to express their opinion on this decision. This is how they replied.

V.I. Kazakov, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers:

"In general the preparation for the session was all right, and different opinions were taken into account. At one of our sittings there were representatives of the Estonian People's Front and the republic's leadership. The questions they raised were discussed in some detail, and we

regarded the matter as resolved. We told the Estonian comrades that only some of the articles of the USSR Constitution, concerning the election of organs of power, are currently being examined, while the others—on ethnic relations and increasing the role of the union republics—will be examined in due course.

"Similar problems exist in the RSFSR; after all, we have autonomous republics and okrugs. The time will come to tackle them too. Therefore the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet session's decision came as a complete surprise to us, and in my view it is unlawful: A republican organ is adopting a decision to suspend the decisions of a union organ. That is incorrect and is not in accordance with the principles of democratic centralism.

"I think there are enough sensible people in Estonia who realize that this decision was poorly thought out. It is not in accordance with any of our principles. The draft laws that are to be discussed at the forthcoming session are certainly a major step forward in the democratization of our society. And we began with the priority problem—the elections of the organs of power which will in the future be entrusted with all the great work of reforming our political system."

Sh.M. Aliyev, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR People's Control Committee:

"The entire range of problems and questions—both statewide and national—was discussed fully at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. At the conference questions of regional economic accountability and of improving ethnic relations were raised, there was talk of the need to hand over a number of powers to the union republics, and other important matters were discussed. No one had any doubt that these matters must be tackled. But there is a time for everything. Now, for instance, partial amendments are being made to the USSR Constitution in connection with the formation of new forms of work by the soviets at all levels. This is a very important task. In short, the party conference decisions are being systematically put into practice.

"The Estonian Supreme Soviet session adopted a decision which it has no right to adopt. Decisions of the USSR Supreme Soviet are binding on all the republics. This too is a manifestation of democratic centralism, of democracy.

"The Estonian comrades are getting ahead of events. The questions they are raising may be correct; no one is rejecting them. They will, I suppose, be discussed in due time, and lawful ways of resolving them will be found. But the Estonian deputies have no power to adopt local, regional decisions that go against statewide decisions. I think we must proceed on the basis of unionwide interests. That is why the highest, collective organ of power exists, to tackle everything collectively."

A.Ya. Rybakov, chairman of the Machine Building and Instrument Making Workers Trade Union Central Committee:

"I believe the amendment introduced by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet session introduces confusion into all our statewide affairs, into the whole country's life. We should strengthen the alliance of the fraternal republics so that our soviet state becomes stronger. Who knows what will happen if everyone acts only on the basis of his own interests and forgets about statewide interests.

"I think we should approach the matter very seriously and study it from many viewpoints—political, ideological, and socioeconomic. And people in Estonia, before making any decision, should perhaps make a representation to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium or a session of the country's Supreme Soviet.

"As a member of the deputies' commission I will demand sound arguments to support the decision adopted by the Estonian Supreme Soviet session. Why did this amendment arise, and what influenced its adoption? We do not yet have any arguments or justifications."

## Decision of Estonian Parliament Viewed

### Deputy Claims Pressure in Vote

*LD2011064988 Moscow TASS in English 0632 GMT 20 Nov 88*

[Text] Moscow November 20 TASS—The decision of the special session of the Estonia Supreme Soviet (Parliament) "undermines the initial principles of the building and unity of the Soviet Union", Vasiliy Koltakov, a turner at the Dvigatel plant, a deputy to the Supreme Soviet of Estonia, a Soviet Baltic republic, has said in an interview with PRAVDA's correspondent.

He is one of seven deputies to the Estonian Parliament who at the November 16 session voted against an amendment to the Article 74 of the republic's constitution. The essence of the amendment is that the supreme power bodies of Estonia may in certain cases suspend or establish limits to the application of legislative and other acts of the USSR.

Koltakov expressed his viewpoint of why only seven deputies voted against the amendment. "On the eve of the session there was an overt 'coaching' of deputies," he said. "At the Kodu enterprises where I was invited on the initiative of the People's Front group I was advised to abstain from voting when they learned about my stand. Moreover, as one of women deputies told me, unidentified persons had telephoned her on the eve of the session and uttered threats to make her cast an aye vote".

The deputy thinks that caution with an eye to high officials' opinion also had its effect. "The party group of the Supreme Soviet met on the eve of the session", he

related. "To tell the truth, I was not invited for some reason. Comrades told me about the meeting where various points of view were expressed. There were doubts, too. But the republic's leaders were urging the deputies-Communists to cast their votes for the suggested resolution by pleading a complex political situation. Frankly speaking, I do not understand this now either".

The deputy recalls what was the reaction from the invited who were literally leaning over the balconies, straining to see those who would vote nay. "It seems that some people got frightened", Vasiliy Koltakov said. "The apprehensions were not unwarranted. A message concerning my conduct at the session was on the desk of our secretary of the party committee the next day. The message conveyed a demand for the recall of Deputy V. Kotlakov."

Touching upon the role of the People's Front in preparation in the republic for its parliament's session, the deputy said "This movement has helped and is helping the growth of people's self-awareness. It is much to the movement's credit that many people in the republic have now been drawn into politics. At the same time, it seems, it is on the conscience of the movement that there is an atmosphere of uncertainty and endless holding of meetings. Hundreds of thousands of people of non-indigenous nationalities have come to feel like being "lodgers" that are unwelcome to the hosts. I do not know who put into circulation the word "migrant" but it very strongly affects our feelings."

Summing up his reflections on the situation that developed on the eve of the Estonian Parliament's session the deputy said: "The public opinion has been shaped purposefully from the positions of the People's Front which reflects the sentiments of by no means all sections of the republic's population".

Touching upon the results of voting for the adoption of the amendment, Vasiliy Koltakov pointed out: "Time will show whose stand was better considered. It even seems to me that some of my comrades voted 'aye' quite conscientiously, seeking to preclude a still greater aggravation of the political situation in the republic. This is understandable. At present the consolidation of forces is the most important thing for the republic."

## Public Criticizes Decision

*PM2111112988 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Nov 88 Second Edition p 2*

[TASS report under the rubric "Sovereignty for the Soviets: Discussing the Draft Laws": "Haste is Not the Best Counsel. Soviet People's Views"]

[Text] The restructuring that is taking place in the country is a matter for the whole people, a matter for every Soviet person who is utterly committed to its success, to the irreversibility of the long-awaited changes in all spheres of public life. But the success of our enterprise and the solution of today's tasks are impossible without concerted efforts by all the peoples that make up the multinational state. Ignorance of or a reluctance to consider this fact retards the country's progress along the path of democratic renewal and introduces unnecessary tension into relations between people of different nationalities.

It is in precisely this way—with unwarranted haste and without considering the consequences—that the organs of power in the Estonian SSR have now acted by adopting an amendment to article 74 of the republic's constitution on the possibility of supending or restricting the application of USSR legislative and other acts. Essentially, these and other ill-considered documents are clear evidence that the leadership and a section of the population of the republic have gone too far. Particularly as the day before they were adopted by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet the participants of a 100,000-strong all-republican rally voiced support for the main provisions of the draft Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution. Because most of the republic's inhabitants rightly appreciate that Soviet Estonia is part of a single Soviet state and the laws operating on its territory are USSR laws, which are common to the country as a whole and ensure equal rights for all the peoples living in it.

This is the way the events currently taking place in Estonia are perceived by Moscow residents and visitors to the capital with whom TASS correspondents have talked.

"We have come to Moscow from Lithuania," Kaunas State Choir Director L. Stadalninkas and Choirmaster S. Selemenavichyus said, introducing themselves. "But we cannot help being affected by Estonia's problems. We are closely following the economic experiment—republican economic accountability. Concern for the preservation of the culture, languages, and traditions of the Baltic peoples is also something close to our hearts. We are sure that this is something that should extend not only to the national majority of the republics' inhabitants. For example, in Lithuania we are setting up Jewish and Polish cultural centers and a Karaim church already exists. We are jointly seeking ways of improving socialism. And already we can talk about the actual implementation of the 19th all-union party conference decisions.

"Recent reports from the Estonian SSR give serious food for thought. One may argue about the authority of a particular law—everyone can make proposals during the discussion of them. The USSR Constitution gives Soviet people that right. But one cannot be permitted to take steps that are at odds with the provisions of the USSR Basic Law, particularly when we are talking about the need to create a rule-of-law state."

"I worked at the Moscow Aviation Institute for nearly half a century, in a multinational collective, among students, postgraduates, and teachers. And always the criterion for assessing people was their work, successes in science, their contribution to technical progress; never their nationality!" K.P. Osipova, labor veteran, now retired, began her conversation with the journalists. "It seems to me that the decision made by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium is both tactless and undemocratic. People in all civilized countries respect their constitutions. And it should not be forgotten that each of the union republics in the USSR is part of a single whole. And the claims of one republic seem strange when they concern state laws that are common to all. One can uphold one's view, but one should avoid irresponsible utterances and actions!"

N.I. Nikitin, deputy director of the training sovkhoz named for the 50th anniversary of the Komsomol in Novgorod, agreed:

"The fact that people have started living an active political life is a good sign of restructuring," he said. "It is typical not of Estonia alone. Glasnost and democratization have brought everyone out of a state of social indifference and apathy. But certain phenomena currently occurring in Estonia do not, in my belief, have any connection with glasnost. To take the path of rejecting union laws is effectively to head for isolation within the country. But we are a single organism! And if one organ is removed, even partially, the whole organism, our entire state will suffer. This does not contribute to restructuring, but destroys what has been accomplished."

"In my view, the deputies of the supreme organ of power in the Estonian SSR have made an irresponsible and hasty decision," P. Gershkovich, engineer at the Udmurt Planning Institute in Izhevsk said. "It is as if they have forgotten that Estonia is part of a single state and to reserve the right to implement or not implement laws that operate throughout the territory of the USSR is pretentious, to say the least. Above all, it is wrong in law."

S.V. Arkhipov, milling machine operator at the Moscow machine building plant, expressed bewilderment at the adoption of the amendment to Article 74 of the Estonian SSR Constitution at the republic's Supreme Soviet session. He called the step an attempt to cause a split in interethnic relations and discredit the sense of Soviet patriotism. A similar view was expressed by serviceman P.O. Belov. I regard the session's decision as one that destabilizes the fraternal alliance of the Soviet republics, he said. None of them should seek special conditions for itself.

## Supsov Stand Analyzed

*LD2011052088 Moscow TASS in English 0510 GMT 20 Nov 88*

[From the "Soviet Baltic Panorama" feature]

[Text] Tallin November 20—[No agency as received] By ETA news analyst Juris Silins:

The decisions of the session of the Estonia Supreme Soviet (Parliament) which on November 16 adopted an amendment ot article 74 of the republic's constitution about the possibility to suspend or establish limits to the application of legislative and other acts of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and which also endorsed a number of other resolutions have been regarded by the Soviet public in various ways.

Support for the decisions prevails among Estonian population while concern manifests itself among non- indigenous population of the Baltic republic: All those who with sense of political responsibility reflect on the future of perestroyka (restructuring process).

To begin with, let us give the opinion of lawyers. The amendment to the constitution of Estonia, maintains professor Boris Lazarev, a prominent authority in the field of law, virtually proclaimed the republic's exclusive ownership of land, mineral resources, forests and other natural resources as well as of the main means of production, which runs counter to the Constitution of the USSR. Under Article 11 of the fundamental law of the USSR, this is the property of the entire Soviet people, and not only the people of one particular republic.

The parliament of Estonia, Lazarev points out, by adopting the amendment to the republic's constitution, tried to establish for itself a special status which the other union republics are lacking.

The hasty decision of the Estonian Parliament, in the opinion of Janis Dzenitis, procurator of Soviet Latvia, "is most closely connected with the striving of individual persons for national isolationism and insularity of republics, for the stirring up of contradictions between the interests of the Baltic republics and the entire Soviet Union".

Dzentis, writing in PRAVDA newspaper recently, emphasized that "a real strengthening of the people's power in the country is incompatible with these nationalist manifestations".

Elements of political extremism of nationalist trend were observed in Estonia and in other Baltic republics, too, way back in summer this year during the discussion of the programs of the people's fronts. Foreign journalists who visited Tallinn also paid attention to that.

Eric Anderson of Denmark wrote, in particular, that one could not fail to notice the presence of such points in the program of the People's Front which "draw special attention to national aspects, if not to say nationalist, about some of them".

Werner Pirker of Austria in his reasoning went farther than that, pointing out that "at the congress of the People's Front I saw some trends which lead away from socialism".

Those trends are also felt by the residents of the Soviet Baltic republics who increasingly often address messages conveying their doubts and concern to the party bodies of the country, to the editorial offices of newspapers, to radio and television.

Evaluating the state of inter-ethnic relations in the country, Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, speaking in Orel recently, emphasized, in particular, that there existed a number of problems in this respect. But "since perestroyka created democratic institutions to consider and resolve any issues concerning inter-ethnic relations, it is of extreme importance now to avoid artificially fanning up such issues," the Soviet leader said. He drew attention to the fact that "there are people who act from nationalist positions, provoke inter-ethnic discord, and try to undermine friendship among the peoples of the USSR".

Mikhail Gorbachev strongly condemned attempts at artificially aggravating the issues, and at coming forward with ultimatum-like demands. "We all should jointly reject any attempts at imposing upon us such solutions to the existing problems which are at variance with our internationalist ideology and with the principles of socialism".

As far as the results of the Estonian Parliament's session are concerned, it can be only recalled that the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet decided to consider the above-mentioned issue at its next meeting with the invitation of representatives of the republic.

It remains to emphasize once again that the situation is not being dramatised in the Soviet Union because there is confidence that the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia, and the working people of all the union republics see their future only within the fraternal alliance of all republics of the land of the Soviets.

## Moves at Odds With Constitution

*PM1811191588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 3*

[Interview with Doctor of Juridical Sciences Professor B. Lazarev, sector chief at the USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute, by A. Stepovoy under the rubric "Specialist Commentary": "Contrary to Existing USSR Constitution"; date, place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] As our newspaper reported yesterday, a session of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet has adopted an amendment to Article 74 of that republic's Constitution to the effect that the Estonian SSR's supreme organs of power can in certain cases suspend or limit the application of USSR legislation and other enactments. The amendment and a number of other documents adopted by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet diverge from the provisions of the existing USSR Constitution. We asked Doctor of Juridical Sciences Professor B. Lazarev, sector chief at the USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute, to explain the essence of the submitted changes.

[Stepovoy] Boris Mikhaylovich, what is Article 74 of the Estonian SSR Constitution about? What are these provisions that diverge from the USSR Constitution? It is said that the additions to the Estonian SSR Constitution envisage the existence of private ownership in the republic. Could there be some inaccuracy in the translation from Estonian and we are talking about personal ownership?

[Lazarev] It is not a question of the translation, which I have on hand. It is indeed a question of private ownership. Under the USSR Constitution we have state, cooperative, social-organization, and personal ownership, including ownership on the part of citizens engaged in individual labor activity. But there is no private ownership.

Article 4 of the Estonian SSR law of 16 November 1988 proclaimed the republic's exclusive ownership of land, its resources, forests, and other natural resources and of fixed means of production and other property located on the republic's territory. Yet under Article 11 of the USSR Constitution **the land, its resources, water areas, and forests belong to the entire Soviet people, not just the people of the Estonian SSR.**

Second, the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet had no right to include banks and all fixed means of production on the republic's territory within the range of objects owned by it because the republic is the location, in particular, for enterprises of union jurisdiction, and they—under Articles 73 and 77 of the USSR Constitution—fall within the province of union organs. **Republic organs are entitled to coordinate and monitor their activity, but in no way are they entitled to include them within the sphere of their direct administration, much less turn them into their own property.**

Article 5 of this law states that USSR laws take effect on Estonian territory only in the event of their being registered by the republic's supreme soviet presidium. This article also discusses the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet's right to suspend or limit the application of USSR legislative acts if these acts, in the opinion of Estonia's supreme organs of power, violate its sovereignty, resolve a question within the competence of the Estonian SSR, or take no account of the republic's specific features.

**Such a formulation in Article 74 of the Estonian SSR Constitution, if it had legal force, would enable the Estonian SSR supreme organ of power to paralyze the operation of union laws within its territory.** This amendment is contrary to the USSR Constitution.

According to Article 75 of the USSR Constitution, the USSR's sovereignty extends throughout its territory and, under Article 73 of the USSR Constitution, the USSR ensures the uniformity of legislative norms throughout the country's territory. Consequently, USSR laws have direct effect and need no ratification at all by republic organs. **According to Article 74 of the USSR Constitution, in the event of a discrepancy between a union republic law and an all-union law, the law of the USSR shall prevail.** Bearing all this mind, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium will be bound to examine this question. It has the power to proclaim the republic law ineffective if such a discrepancy is officially established.

[Stepovoy] What actions can the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium take in this situation?

[Lazarev] Since my thoughts are by way of a scientific consultation, I could assume that the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet would obviously have to review its law and thus the amendment to Article 74 of that republic's Constitution. **A republic's constitution cannot be allowed to be at variance with the USSR Constitution.**

It is well known that the question of the possibility of amending articles of the USSR Constitution dealing with national-state structure will be examined following the CPSU Central Committee plenum which will be held toward the middle of next year and which will examine all aspects of interethnic relations, including problems of the further development of the Soviet socialist federation. At that time all republics represented at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies will be able to introduce at once any necessary changes in the legal norms governing mutual relations between the USSR and the union republics, between union and republic organs, and will make a coordinated decision. **According to the USSR Constitution, all union republics enjoy equal rights within the framework of the USSR. The Estonian SSR is trying to give itself a special status which other republics lack, and this runs contrary to the principle of their equality.** [end Lazarev]

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has instructed the Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities Legislative Proposals Commissions to examine the amendments and a number other documents adopted by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet on 16 November 1988 since they affect fundamental principles of the building and unity of the Soviet socialist federation.

## 'Alarm' Expressed Over Session

*PM1811172588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Nov 88 Second Edition p 2*

[Dispatch by V. Pyankova: "Perplexity and Concern. Notes by SOVETSKAYA ESTONIA Correspondent"]

[Text] Tallinn—The extraordinary eighth session of the Estonian Supreme Soviet, 11th convocation, took place on 16 November in Tallinn. Why was it called?

I am sure that no one living in the republic today can remain an apathetic or indifferent observer of the political situation taking shape before his or her eyes. The numerous letters now pouring in to republican newspapers from all corners of the country with a passionate call to overcome the tension which has arisen in relations between various public organizations and people of different nationalities and to preserve their inviolable unity are not dictated by idle curiosity. And you cannot call this concern unfounded. There are reasons for it. It is well known how the People's Front in support of restructuring emerged and swiftly grew.

Unfortunately, however, recently certain leaders of informal associations and even of official organizations that have been borne up on the wave of innovations under the slogan of unlimited glasnost began to permit themselves unjustifiably categorical and sometimes simply irresponsible statements and actions, and these are stirring up the situation and arousing national strife in the republic. The 11th Plenum of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee moderated the passions. But in recent weeks, since the publication in the central press of the Draft Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution and Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies and the publication soon afterward in the republican press of the Draft Estonian SSR Law on Language, these passions exploded with new force.

What happened? Some people saw in the draft union laws a return to former methods of "overcentralization" in the administration of all the country's regions, including the republics, which constitutionally, de jure, were always deemed sovereign. I will note that in assessing them there were at first no particular divergences among people of different nationalities living here. But the hasty Draft Estonian SSR Law on Language, in the view of the majority of non-Estonians, who of late have been offensively nicknamed "migrants," was perceived as infringing upon other people's rights. The debates developed with new force.

In his recent Estonian television and radio and ETA interview V.M. Chebrikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, said that what he had seen and heard gives grounds for the conclusion that the republic is living a turbulent political life in which more and more new strata and groups of the population are joining, and there

is an unprecedented upsurge in people's national self-awareness. At the same time he noted that not everything is unambiguous in these processes.

V.M. Chebrikov dwelt in detail on the complaints about the draft union laws. He noted that the opinion is widespread in the republic that the proposed amendments and additions to the Constitution do not ensure political and economic independence for the Estonian SSR. It is claimed that their adoption will lead to the loss of its sovereignty, and he stressed that these fears do not have any basis and that the tasks of restructuring can be resolved only on the basis of consolidation, on the basis of uniting the forces of representatives of all nationalities living in the republic.

Consolidation in the name of successfully resolving the tasks of restructuring in Estonia is really more necessary now than ever. This is shown, for instance, by the fact that the emergence of yet another informal mass organization—the international movement—after the creation of the republic People's Front essentially marked a demarcation along national lines. And just recently the republic's United Council of Production Collectives was set up. Whereas the People's Front mostly united representatives of Estonia's indigenous population, the latter two movements are largely made up of representatives of other nationalities.

On 29 October a council of People's Front representatives called on the public and organs of Estonian SSR state power to declare the draft union laws contrary to the aspiration for the democratization of society and to the union republics' sovereign rights and to get the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet to reject these draft laws.

A few days ago about 100,000 working people from almost 200 enterprises went to a republic-wide rally at which support was expressed for the basic provisions of the Draft Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution and the demand was voiced that the Draft Estonian SSR Law on Language be deemed unacceptable as illegal and antidemocratic.

This is the situation which preceded the extraordinary session of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet on 16 November. The deputies worked for 10 hours, and the entire session was relayed live on Estonian television and radio with a simultaneous translation into Russian. This was the first time this had ever happened. It can be said without exaggeration that the whole of Estonia watched the progress of this event. Twenty-five deputies asked to speak and were allowed to do so. Diametrically opposed views were expressed, and quite naturally there was an open clash of opinions. But there were also points, in my view, which were worrying. When you are demanding democracy, glasnost, and guarantees, it would obviously be principled to act in accordance with these demands yourself. Nonetheless, the hasty submission for discussion of the sloppily formulated draft law on language was not the only mistake made by the republic's leadership. Questions on amendments and additions to the Estonian SSR Constitution were also included on its agenda, in addition to questions on the Draft Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution and the Draft Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies.

Yet these amendments, and particularly the new version of the Estonian SSR Constitution's Article 74 that was proposed for ratification, in which it says that in certain circumstances the Estonian SSR's supreme organs of power can suspend or set limits on the application of USSR legislative and other acts, is blatant excess in the republic's upholding of its rights. Our republic is part of a united state—the USSR—and Estonia's claims to accept or reject USSR laws, which operate throughout the country's territory, look odd at the very least. Arguing before the laws are adopted and upholding your viewpoint, yes, that is understandable. But deciding yourself whether to implement the state's laws once they have been adopted is illegal. This "amendment" was hardly discussed among the republic's population. But it was hastily adopted at the session, and all this leads once again to alarming thoughts about the responsibility of the republic's supreme soviet deputies for the legislative acts they have approved. Where in this case are there firm guarantees of the legality of the republic's laws—both present and future?

The alarm persists. The session showed that, as before, precedents for hasty decisions in cases which do not permit haste are possible. The decision to submit for examination the Draft Estonian SSR Law on Language at the next, ninth session has not been revoked, as demanded by many people. The irresponsible and sometimes provocative voices in the press and particularly on Estonian radio continue to speak out. People of all nationalities—ordinary, good people—are tired of all this.

## 'Front' Group Hopes To See Gorbachev

*PM1811114688 London DAILY TELEGRAPH in English 18 Nov 88 p 15*

[Xan Smiley dispatch: "Gorbachev Faces Revolt by Other Baltic States"]

[Text] Tallinn—The parliaments of Lithuania and Latvia look set to follow the example of Estonia by rejecting Mr Gorbachev's constitutional proposals, while the Kremlin's first offical reaction has been cautiously to condemn Estonia's defiance. The Lithuanian Supreme Soviet is expected to vote today for changes in its constitution which are likely to assert the republic's sovereignty.

On Wednesday, the Estonian Parliament called for changes in the central constitution and passed a law insisting that its decisions now have supremacy over Moscow's on matters concerning Estonia.

But the Soviet Union's top constitutional body, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, has already implied that the Estonian move is illegal.

"The amendments and other documents adopted by the Estonian Parliament are at variance with the provisions of the current Constitution of the USSR," it declared, according to the official news agency, TASS.

Though this first response by Moscow to Estonia's parliamentary independence is clearly negative, it seems to leave the door ajar for negotiations.

"You're wrong but we're prepared to discuss it—that's the Kremlin's opening message," said an experienced analyst.

A spokesman of the burgeoning Lithuanian movement known as Sajudis, which is pressing the supreme soviet, the republic's parliament, to defy the Kremlin, said: "The Estonian result has given us a great impulse, great hope".

Latvia's Parliament, under similar nationalist pressure, meets on Tuesday.

The likely rebellion by all three Baltic republics now poses a major challenge to the Kremlin leader.

An Estonian nationalist told THE DAILY TELEGRAPH yesterday that the Estonian Popular Front, the republic's mass movement, hopes to send a delegation, including local Communist Party officials, to meet Mr Gorbachev in Moscow next week to persuade him to alter his draft reforms.

### 'Opinion of Soviet People'

*LD1811173688 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1545 GMT 18 Nov 88*

["Opinion of the Soviet People: Haste Is Not the Best Adviser"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 18 Nov (TASS)—TASS correspondents report:

Representatives of the Soviet public call the decision made by the organs of power in Soviet Estonia, which adopted an amendment to Article 74 of the republic's Constitution on the possibility of checking or establishing limits to the application of legal and other acts of the USSR, as groundlessly hasty. With this and several other ill-considered documents, the leadership and a certain part of the population in the republic clearly have gone too far.

This is precisely how the residents of Moscow and visitors to the capital with whom the TASS correspondent talked perceive the events now occurring in Estonia.

"We have come to Moscow from Lithuania," said Leonas Stadalninkas, director of the Kaunas state choir, introducing himself, "but Estonia's problems cannot fail to worry our collective, too. One can argue about the competence of one law or another; each person has the opportunity to make his own proposals in the course of their discussion. This right is given a citizen by the USSR Constitution; however, to take steps at variance with its clauses is inadmissible, all the more so when we are talking about a law-governed state."

Klava Osipova, a labor veteran, has worked for half a century at one of the multinational collectives at the Moscow aviation institute. "The criterion in appraising people," she said in a conversation with us, "has always been their work, their contribution to technical progress, but by no means their nationality. I think the decision made by the Estonia Supreme Soviet Presidium is both tactless and undemocratic. People of all civilized countries respect their constitutions. It is possible to defend one's position, but irresponsible words and deeds should be avoided."

Nikolay Nikitin, deputy director of a sovkhoz technical college from the Russian city of Novgorod, agrees with this view: "To embark on a path of not adopting union laws is, effectively, to embark on that of isolation within the country."

In the opinion of Petr Gershkovich, an engineer at the Udmurt design institute from Izhevsk, "deputies of Estonia's supreme organ of authority have taken an irresponsible and hasty decision." It is, he said, as if they forgot that Estonia is a part of a single state and that to retain the right to comply or not to comply with laws in operation throughout the territory of the USSR is, to say the least, pretentious. Most importantly, however, it is illegal. "Our institute," he continued, is "linked" to many republics by business contacts. "Breaking one of these threads destabilizes the work of all. In taking a hasty, separatist decision, Estonia's legislators are breaking more than one such thread. The consequences of going too far in this direction are unforeseeable and, quite simply, dangerous for the future of the entire country."

### Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Discusses Drafts

*LD1811203088 Moscow TASS in English 1853 GMT 18 Nov 88*

[Text] Vilnius November 18 TASS—The Supreme Soviet (parliament) of Lithuania at its two-day session that closed here today discussed a package of problems connected with the process of perestroyka, or restructuring, currently under way in the country.

The deputies adopted a law on the state plan of the economic and social development of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic for 1989, a resolution on the implementation of the republic's state plan of economic and social development in 1988 and a law on the republican budget for 1989.

It took a decision to make Lithuanian the state language on Lithuanian territory and work out rules on the Russian language as a means of inter-ethnic communication.

Some issues of national symbolics were resolved. The national tricolor has been named the state flag of the republic.

Lively discussions started when the delegates considered the draft laws of the USSR on changes and amendments to the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the USSR and on elections opf people's deputies of the USSR.

It approved provisions in the drafts, which, in the opinion of the deputies, corresponded to the spirit of the 19th nationwide communist party conference and the process of the renewal of society. At the same time the deputies did not give support for the provisions which were said to infringe the republic's sovereignty and violate the principle of democratic voting.

The session heard about the decisions of the Supreme Soviet of Estonia and the documents it adopted that were at variance with the existing Constitution of the USSR.

The deputies of the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania showed a negative attitude to these decisions.

A parliamentary commission, headed by Algirdas-Mikolas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, was set up to continue work on a draft constitution of Soviet Lithuania that was submitted to the session.

### Brazauskas, Others Address Session

*LD1911042788 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 18 Nov 88*

[Text] A session of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet closed in Vilnius today. The speech made by the leader of the Lithuanian Communist Party, Algirdas Brazauskas, while discussing the issue of Soviet Lithuania's Constitution, was decisive in determining the realistic and (?consequent) way followed by Lithuania in its drive for political and economic sovereignty. Though part of the MP's called for following the example of Estonia's Supreme Soviet and adopt corresponding amendments to the acting constitution of the republic, other deputies as well as First Party Secretary Algirdas Brazauskas argued that such a choice would be irresponsible, indeed. And here is Algirdas Brazauskas' speech at the session of the Supreme Soviet:

[Begin Brazauskas recording in Lithuanian with superimposed English translation] It seems the time has already come to ask ourselves whether we are responsible for the fate of Lithuania, of our nation, for the future of our youth, whether we are responsible for our normal life. I can say that I have been first party secretary for a month already, but regrettably I could not feel this normal life in Lithuania. We forgot our basic social problems, we have achieved something, but there is still very much to be done. We forgot about our republic's other problems, about our people, their everyday wishes and needs.

We have climbed high into the skies, confined ourselves to this (?dutiful role) and are trying to make historic decisions. What are we talking about today? We are talking today about disregarding democratic principles, but we are teaching Lithuania's officials to adhere to democracy. I should think that we must all adhere to democracy. I have in mind Lithuania's Constitution. The issue is extremely complicated, extremely broad and extremely sensitive. We cannot resolve the situation in a day or even in a month, whatever noblest feelings we might be guided by. Most of the MP's who spoke here do not seem to understand [words indistinct].

It is suggested that the draft laws worked out by the Sajudis movement be adopted, yet what does it mean? Why should we in Lithuania adopt a law for a day or two? We all are serious people and I think that we should not push our (?people) into deception. We should not move in a wrong direction. That is why I propose to make a serious and well-thought-out step, and if we step forward seriously, thinking about every step we make, if we step forward firmly without a hurry, I think we can gain much more. [end recording]

The speech made by the first party secretary, Algirdas Brazauskas, concluded the heated debates during which various amendments, resolutions, and appeal variants were proposed. A radical direction following the road already tried out by Estonia's Supreme Soviet was pointed out by Professor (Vitoldas Suanbirgis) (?Seimas) council member of the Lithuanian reform movement Sajudis, who spoke at the session. Deputies to the Supreme Soviet expressed different views and proposed other ways out.

The deputies have decided by a vote that the parliamentary commission is being set up to further develop the Lithuanian Constitution. The draft constitution will be advanced for public consideration later on. The constitution is expected to be adopted not later than February next year.

Strong discussions were prompted when it earlier considered questions on the draft Soviet constitution and the draft law on the deputy elections. There was a wide range of opinions on these questions, the more so that more than 1,700,000 signatures were collected under the demand not to discuss the proposed changes and amendments to the Soviet Constitution at the next session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. But after the discussions with the party leader, Algirdas Brazauskas, taking part, a realistically political decision was made.

The decision reads: The Lithuanian Supreme Soviet comes out for the discussion at the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of only those constitutional amendments which affect the organization of the people's deputies' elections and the formation of a supreme governing organ for the USSR.

The decision adopted by the Supreme Soviet also reads that it is those organs that should give a lot of attention to the further development of the Soviet Constitution with the draft constitutions of all the union republics being taken into account and with the participation of the competent representatives of all the union republics.

The words of the Central Committee secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party, Lionginas Sepetys, who was the chairman of the 2-day session of the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania, confirmed the fruitfulness of the chosen road.

[Begin Sepetys recording in Lithuanian with superimposed English translation] Those amendments to the USSR Constitution and proposals submitted to the public discussion arouse no admiration. Moreover, we know that the legislators themselves—those especially who have been working on the amendments—are much impressed by the opinion of the broadest public, in particular by the thousands of signatures coming in from Soviet Lithuania and by the relevant statements made by the governments of this and other republics. We know for certain that those people are very much concerned and are comparing now the primary amendments and the huge pile of new proposals which in fact renounce many of the primary ones. [end recording]

Lionginas Sepetys said that the session began its work today with a consideration of concrete amendments to the present Constitution of Lithuania. The amendments (?talk) about the proclamation of the Lithuanian language as the state language and of the possible change of the state symbols. The recent session of the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania confirmed the Lithuanian language as the state language. It also confirmed the national yellow, green, and red flag the state flag. The session also confirmed the national song written by Vincas Kudirka as the state anthem.

After having discussed all questions on the agenda, the historic session ended its work with the deputies singing the returned to the nation state anthem.

Yet the public has accepted the supreme soviet's decisions differently. The picket staged in front of the supreme soviet was voicing support to the agenda for 2 days, but after the session it developed into a protest rally. The deputies who were leaving the supreme soviet premises were accompanied with the shouts of protest.

Some time later a protest meeting was held in (Ekatarina) square. The members of the Seimas council of the Lithuanian reform movement, Sajudis, made speeches there. Several thousand people listened to them.

The members denounced the session's decisions as lacking (?dissemination) and they declared [words indistinct] relations with the authorities. A strong protest was voiced in connection with the concrete proposals made by the deputies which were not advanced for vote. The speakers accused the session of having not adopted a resolution in support of the Supreme Soviet of Estonia. The society's leaders asked the electorate to meet their deputies and make clear all about their stands and, if need be, declare mistrust of them.

The yellow, green and red flags were tied with black ribbons. The Seimas council of the society's movement has declared mourning till the afternoon of Monday.

### Autonomy Demand Rejected

*AU2111095688 Paris AFP in English 0931 GMT 21 Nov 88*

[Text] Moscow, Nov 21 (AFP)—The Lithuanian grass roots National Front, or Sajudis, called for a 10 minute transport stoppage on Monday in protest at the Lithuanian parliament's refusal to demand wider autonomy from Moscow, a spokesman for the movement said.

Virgile Cepaitis said the strike action had been decided late Sunday night at a meeting of the Sejm, the movement's policy-making body.

Mr. Cepaitis said the meeting had been convened urgently after the Lithuanian parliament which met Thursday and Friday unanimously rejected nationalists' proposals to amend the republic's constitution in a move similar to one made on Wednesday by Estonia.

Instead, the Lithuanian parliament, voted on Friday to set up a parliamentary committee headed by First Secretary Algirdas Brazauskas to study a Kremlin draft of proposed changes to the Soviet Constitution expected to be approved by the Supreme Soviet on November 29.

Baltic nationalists say the Kremlin draft, which is part of a wide-ranging reform of the electoral system, contradicts promises made by the Communist Party at its federal conference in June of more autonomy for Soviet republics.

Another Sajudis member, Arvydas Juozaitis, said the movement had drawn up a petition already signed by 60 Lithuanian members of parliament, to demand a special session of the Supreme Soviet. He said 127 signatures were required before the petition could be accepted.

The Estonian parliament last Wednesday voted to amend the republic's constitution to make it a "sovereign" state in all but defence and foreign policy and with full control over land, natural resources and means of production.

In an unprecedented challenge to the Kremlin the Estonian legislature said it reserved the right to veto decisions taken by the central government.

Official newspapers and legal experts in Moscow have branded the Estonian move as "unconstitutional".

### 10,000 Demonstrate 21 Nov

*LD2111115988 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1130 GMT 21 Nov 88*

[Text] About 10,000 Lithuanians demonstrated today in the capital city, Vilnius, against the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet's refusal to demand greater independence from Moscow. At the same time traffic was stopped for 10 minutes also in a protest action called by the Lithuanian Popular Front to mark the fact that the Supreme Soviet has not followed Estonia's example and changed the Lithuanian constitution as the Popular Front demanded.

### Sajudis Spokesman on Protest

*LD2011195988 Hamburg DPA in German 1853 GMT 20 Nov 88*

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—The Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring, "Sajudis," has addressed various protest resolutions to the republic's supreme soviet. The aim of the protests is to have a decision on constitutional change made in Lithuania prior to the meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow on 29 November. A Sajudis spokesman told DPA this evening that the Sejm Council of Sajudis had made these decisions following a several-hour meeting.

For instance, the Lithuanian parliament special session to deal with the decision on the constitution, which was postponed on Friday, should now be convened. The constitutional change should end the precedence of union law over republican law. Following the example of Estonia, the Lithuanians want to protect themselves with the right to veto over Moscow decisions which have an influence on the republic affairs.

The spokesman confirmed that it had been recommended that traffic be brought to a standstill in the republic on Monday to protest the postponement. But what was involved was in no sense a strike.

### DPA on Lithuanian Situation

*LD1811183488 Hamburg DPA in German 1641 GMT 18 Nov 88*

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—Moscow's criticism of the quest for autonomy in the Baltic region apparently had its first effects on Friday. According to reports from Vilnius, the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet has postponed the decision on a change to its Constitution in response to pressure from Algirdas Brasauskas, the popular republican party boss. At the same time, however, the parliament is said to have spoken out against Moscow's plans for a change in the union Constitution. This morning the highest parliamentary body of Lithuania decided, among other things, to elevate Lithuanian to the status of a state language.

In the debate this afternoon, the deputies were due to decide about the alteration of an article in the republican Constitution which lays down the precedence of the union over the republic. The Lithuanians also wanted—like the Estonians 2 days ago—to procure for themselves a right of veto on decisions from Moscow which affect the internal affairs of the republic. In this way, for example, they wanted to prevent new special troops from the Soviet Interior Ministry from being allowed to be deployed on the territory of the republic. As a spokeswoman for the Lithuanian movement for restructuring ("Sajudis") told the GERMAN PRESS AGENCY (DPA) in Moscow, Lithuania now intends to wait for the decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The highest body of the Soviet Union will decide on 29 November about the plans submitted by state and party leader Mikhail Gorbachev for a constitutional change and an electoral reform. In recent days the Moscow leadership has repeatedly stressed that the current plans only represent a "first step" within a major reform of the entire USSR political system.

In Lithuania alone 1.7 million signatures have been gathered against this "first step." These were presented to the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet on Friday. The "Sajudis" spokeswoman said the Supreme Soviet had taken note of the signatures. It had refused to make a decision about this, however, since it regarded the Moscow plans as "antidemocratic." Furthermore, they contradicted the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

The spokeswoman added that the postponement of the decision on the Constitution was a "great disappointment for us and for all Lithuania." Despite pressure from Moscow, there had been the firm expectation of a decision such as that in Estonia. "Now the Estonians stand alone," she added. In Riga on 22 November the Latvian Supreme Soviet will also hold a special session to discuss constitutional changes and a redefinition of relations between union and republic.

On Friday the Soviet party newspapers PRAVDA and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA sharply criticized the reform movements in the Baltic republics, thus increasing the pressure on the party leaderships to exercise a moderating influence on these movements. They described some aspects of the reforms as "illegal and antidemocratic."

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA wrote that some leaders of the informal associations permitted themselves, "under the slogan of unrestricted glasnost, remarks and actions that were sometimes irresponsible and that exacerbated the situation in the republic and stirred up national discord." Against the People's Front movements in Estonia and Latvia, which are supported by the republic leaderships, movements have come into being under the name of "International Front" which principally back Russian interests.

### Political Trends Viewed

*LD2011055988 Moscow TASS in English 0537 GMT 20 Nov 88*

[From the "Soviet Baltic Panorama" feature]

[Text] Vilnius November 20—By ELTA correspondent Zigmas Aleksandravicius:

The draft of the new Constitution of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic is a reflection of the process of societal renovation now under way in the USSR. The draft was produced by the national Academy of Sciences and submitted to the Supreme Soviet (Parliament) of Lithuania for discussion. The other day the parliament's session formed a parliamentary commission led by Algirdas Mikolas Brazauskas, first secretary of Lithuania's Communist Party Central Committee, to continue the work over the draft of the new Constitution of Lithuania.

One paragraph of the document says that the main trend of the development of Lithuania's political system is protection and development of socialist democracy: active participation of the citizens and public organizations in managing the affairs of the state, the strengthening of socialist legality and openness.

Some of the provisions contained in the draft have already become the reality of life today. Burning issues of concern to all the inhabitants of the republic are being aired openly and freely. Sometimes the debate goes on in an audience which includes the whole of Lithuania—via TV. Televised fora with the participation of the leaders of the Communist Party and the government of Lithuania have become an ordinary occurrence. The work of such "discussion clubs" is televised live and any viewer can ask a question or express his or her attitude to a particular problem over the phone.

Western journalists and people of other professions who visit this Baltic Soviet republic, note the open nature of the discussions—be that at public rallies or in newspapers. Characteristic in this respect is the following utterance by Manfred Klein, a West German doctor of sciences (philology) from Bilefelld, who studies the Baltic languages and has visited Vilnius several times in this connection.

"Visiting the USSR after six years, he said, I have seen striking changes already upon entry into your country: The customs and passport controls are quick and polite. And what frequently happens in the heart of Vilnius—the Gedimino Square—I could not even imagine in my dreams before: Here people argue and openly express their views, at times sharply opposed. During my visit here in 1982 people generally avoided talking about politics. Now, as I have seen for myself, there are no areas closed for discussion."

But still, the main thing is not what is being said but that the words uttered are being heeded and that the opinion of the public is taken into account. A public outcry resulted in the halt of the construction of the third block of the Ingalinskaya nuclear power plant because of some imperfections found in the design. A similar fate befell the construction of off-shore oil production facilities in the Baltic Sea and close to its coast. The Presidium of Lithuania's Supreme Soviet has declared all the deportations in the years of Stalin's lawlessness to be illegal, and all the victims of that lawlessness have been rehabilitated. Historical names have been restored to some of the streets. Bans were lifted on works of literature and art regarded as undesirable by the powers that be during the years of stagnation. The traditional Lithuanian national symbols—the flag and medieval coat-of-arms have regained the rights of "citizenship". The main cathedral and the St. Kazimir Cathedral in Vilnius, and the Cathedral of Maria the Queen of Peace in the port city of Claipeda are being returned to believers.

Nonformal public clubs and associations have come into being, the largest among them in sheer numbers being the "Greens" movement and the movement for perestroyka ("Sayudis"). The recent session of the sejm (parliament) of "Sayudis" approved a draft of Lithuania's new Constitution.

Personality changes have taken place at different tiers of power. The plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania elected as first secretary Algiradas Brazauskas, "the man of perestroyka" as he is referred to here. Brazauskas has expressed his attitude to the draft of the republic's new Constitution in this way: "We want to solve the problems of the further development of the legal status of the union republics, a more clear-cut delineation of the competence of the Soviet Union and the union republics, their right and duties in terms of enhancing economic self-reliance. At the same time we approach the notion of sovereignty of the republic only in terms of it remaining a part of the Soviet Union. We stand for strengthening and protecting socialism."

A broad range of perestroyka issues in Lithuania was examined during the four-day visit to Lithuania by Nikolay Slyunkov, a member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU CC. He visited Vilnius, Kaunas, the farming area Kaishyadoris, met with workers, peasants, intellectuals and talked with people in the streets to get the feel of their mood.

Addressing the meeting of the party and economic leaders of Lithuania, Nikolay Slyunkov spoke about issues of inter-ethnic relations. He pointed to the need of stage-by-stage solution of these vital problems. He said, in part, that solutions are to be sought to such important tasks as "harmonisation of the relations between the USSR and the union republics, the status of the union and autonomous republics. The idea is to broaden their rights and possibilities in different fields of economic, social, political and cultural life," But "this is the next stage of political changes," stressed the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

### Baltic 'Link-up' Discussion

[Vilnius Radio]

LD1911151788 [Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 1000 GMT on 18 November begins a live link-up between Vilnius and Tallin. The announcer in Vilnius, Ceslovas Jursenas, is accompanied by lawyers Stasys Staciokas and Kazimieras Motiaka. The announcer in Tallinn, Ene Hion, is accompanied by the rector of Tallinn Polytechnic Boris Tamm, Estonian Foreign Minister Arnold Gren, writer Teet Kallis, and Mark Soosaar, first secretary of the board of the Estonian and Lithuanian. The debate is in Russian.

Tamm introduces the subject of the current political situation by saying that recently, as a result of debates and explanations, people of different views have become closer in their understanding of each other." "Today one can say this with great conviction. The proof of it is the extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet that took place the day before yesterday and where—after indeed very sharp and heated debates—almost all the delegates still found a common langauge when they voted for the four fundamental documents that were adopted."

Kallas continues, saying that although there is a view that the situation in Estonia is acute, he feels that the overall atmosphere has become more understanding of late, especially as the latest official slogan suggested for the Estonian people is that of consolidating all democratic forces. He says that about 100 deputies cut of 263 at the session of the Estonian Supreme Soviet were not Estonian and quotes a Russian deputy who had remarked on the mutual understanding and absence of mutual accusations. "I feel it is such a pity—I will take advantage now that I have already started talking—that this is not reflected adequately in the all-union press. If one reads today's PRAVDA it appears that we are not on the right path and that things are bad here. That is not so."

Jursenas broaches the topic of the fourth point discussed at the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet session concerning the amendment to the Lithuanian Constitution regulating the official status of the Lithuanian language and changing the state symbols of the Lithuanian SSR. "The most important things is that the Lithuanian language was granted the status of state language in a corresponding amendment to the Constitution. State symbols have also been changed, namely: the national flag has now become the state flag of the Lithuanian SSR." He adds that the anthem has reverted to the people's national song by Vincas Kudirka.

The Lithuanian panel asks what is happening in Tallinn, or what actually took place at the session of the Estonian Supreme Soviet. Tamm says that there were four documents passed at the session, almost unanimously, but that today is quite an ordinary working day and life goes on in a normal peaceful fashion.

The Lithuanian panel then asks about the attitude of the Estonian Supreme Soviet towards the proposed changes in the USSR Constitution. Gren says "There is an opinion, which was even printed in some foreign publications, that the session rejected each proposal of the draft, the addenda, and the amendments to the USSR Constitution... This is completely untrue." He adds that the session fully approved the endeavor of further democratization of the electoral system, which is evident in the proposed drafts. There are, however, certain points they felt were restrictive, Gren continues, which is why it was decided to address the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, so the discussion of the amendments and addenda was discontinued. Representatives of all union republics will be invited to work out a draft that will serve the sovereign rights of the union republics, Gren concludes.

The Lithuanian panel agrees that there were only certain points of the proposed drafts they objected to.

Hion says that Riga refused to take part in the hook-up. A recorded interview with Juris Bojars, a Latvian lawyer, is played. Bojars says the joint view of Lithuanian, Estonian, and Latvian lawyers is that the constitutional changes are "not bad" but careful work must be done on them. The lawyers suggested direct elections to the Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet, rejecting indirect elections through public organization. Laws "infringinging on the republics' sovereignty" were either rejected or considerably amended by the lawyers.

Jursenas cites listeners' questions about rumors that "the leadership of Estonia had changed in connection with the Supreme Soviet session" and that "things were calm in Estonia because a curfew had been imposed." Soosaar says: "I would like these rumors to lie on the conscience of the people who invented them. At the same time I would like to appeal to the consciences of all the people who are listening to us. The Soviet Union is currently in a constitutional crisis. I am very glad that we are getting ourselves out of this crisis through dialogue. I would like to appeal to the conscience of the Russian people in particular. Dear comrades, wake up and try to distance yourselves from specific people and specific promises.

Let us together create a democratic system and a constitutional foundation that will help us in the future to avoid all kinds of arbitrary rule, all possibilities of the emergence of a new Stalinism."

Soosaar notes that the day before yesterday a plenum of the board of the USSR Cinematographers Union in Moscow passed resolutions criticizing the draft constitutional changes and called for the establishment of a special commission representing all the union republics to draw up a new Soviet Constitution.

Hion says "You understand that we have no martial law, things are calm here." She adds "all currents and various organizations, including the People's Front, and the people, I believe, wholly give their great support to our leadership. There is a good kind of unity." Gren reiterates that there have been no leadership changes in Estonia.

Soosaar says, "The impression I have formed is that, particularly after Comrade Chebrikov's visit to the republic, a false picture about our public movements was created in the all-union press. If you look at the political map of Estonia, the Communist Party of Estonia and the People's Front are now in the center, and they support each other in almost all areas and on all problems. These are very big mass movements. To compare them with some sort of small, extremist movement is wrong, in my view. We have a rightwing and a left wing, and the policies of the republican party are expressed in the fact that not everyone, not all movements are given equal say in the press, but a say is given in the press to the movements that have the support of the majority of the republic's inhabitants."

The details of Estonian proposed amendments to the draft Constitution are discussed. Hion suggests a further discussion following the completion of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet session. The current status of the Russian language in Lithuania is briefly dealt with. The latest debate has finished in the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet but the vote has not been taken. The program is cut off at 1105 GMT.

### Latvian Supsov Examines Amendments

*LD2011002088 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 2050 GMT17 Nov 88*

[Text] A meeting of the republic's supreme soviet presidium today examined our attitude toward the USSR draft law on changes and amendments to the State Constitution and the USSR draft law on electing people's deputies.

The working group of the supreme soviet presidium which was specially formed to study this question summarized the applications and proposals of the working people for amending these drafts and presented to those present its conception—it could even be said an alternative—of the wording for both of these drafts to be acceptable to our republic and so that they would fully conform to its interests.

Having seriously discussed the amendments, the members of the presidium decided to change the agenda of the upcoming 10th session of the republic's supreme soviet by proposing to the deputies that the session adopt a resolution on the question of changes and amendments in the Constitution and on the USSR draft law on altering the election system.

### Rally Held; Supsov Opposes Drafts

*AU1911152588 Paris AFP in English 1156 GMT 19 Nov 88*

[Text] Moscow, Nov 19 (AFP)—Forty thousand people took part in a mass rally in Riga, the capital of Latvia, on Friday, commemorating the anniversary of the Baltic republic's short-lived independence while the regional parliament expressed concern over plans for constitutional reform.

The demonstration at the freedom monument was the first such rally authorized this year, a correspondent for the independent EXPRESS-KRONIKHA BULLETIN said.

Pro-independent Latvians and demonstrators from neighbouring Estonia and Lithuania addressed the crowd waving national flags. Authorities had banned last year's anniversary celebrations on the grounds that they were inspired by "nationalist extremists, and foreign agents".

The three Baltic republics were independent between 1918 and 1940 when they were annexed by the Soviet Union and later occupied by Nazi Germany. They failed to regain independence after World War II.

The presidium of Latvia's Supreme Soviet on Friday adopted a decree legalizing the national flag, and criticizing the planned amendment of the Soviet Constitution as well as an electoral bill to be submitted to the Supreme Soviet in Moscow before the end of the month.

The decree published by the Latvian press on Saturday was expected to be adopted by the regional parliament on Tuesday.

It said that "certain principles concerning the elections and the sovereignty of the (Soviet Union's 15) republics as laid down in the project are unacceptable."

Estonia's and Lithuania's Parliaments rejected some articles of the constitutional project on Wednesday and Friday as inconsistent with the sovereignty of the two republics.

The presidium of the Supreme Soviet in Moscow and an Estonian government delegation are to discuss the sovereignty issue following press reports that the Estonian claim to sovereignty and the Soviet Constitution were at variance.

The Estonian Parliament had also voted that it could suspend some laws voted by the Moscow Parliament.

The Kremlin's counter-offensive prompted the Lithuanian Parliament to forego any such move, and no similar proposals were submitted to the Latvian Parliament in Riga.

**Latvian Prosecutor on Discussion of Proposals**
*PM1811200088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
*19 Nov 88 First Edition p 3*

[Article by Ya. Dzenitis, Latvian SSR prosecutor and state counselor of justice, 2d class, under the rubric "Discussing the Draft Laws": "We Need Constitutional Proposals, Not Ultimatums"]

[Text] In Latvia, as in the other union republics, an active discussion is in under way on the draft laws on amendments and additions to the USSR Constitution and elections of USSR people's deputies. The vast majority of citizens who have personally studied these important documents carefully and conscientiously view them with understanding, as the first stage—vitally necessary for restructuring—in the reform of the political system. Given an objective, honest approach, it is impossible not to conclude that the draft laws under discussion accord fully with the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference decisions on the development and strengthening of people's power in our country.

There is approval for the new functions of the Supreme Soviet as a permanently operating legislative, executive, and control organ; the creation of a constitutional oversight committee, which is so necessary for the rule-of-law state; and the establishment of legal guarantees against possible abuses of power. There is satisfaction with the democratization of the election campaign. Real opportunities are created for the voter, under the conditions of a truly secret ballot, to express his attitude toward the candidate deputies and to decide for himself whom to vote for. The counting of votes will be carried out in a new way, on the basis of the number taking part in the ballot, which will block the path of those who are fond of formalism and show.

The draft laws also include provisions aimed at the democratization of Soviet society's life.

But the discussion of the draft laws is not entirely uniform, and that is only natural. In the course of the discussion, proposals and observations are being submitted whose authors elaborate and clarify many provisions of the draft laws, and in many cases put forward a well-argued dissension with some of them and at the same time propose their own solutions to a given question.

We workers in the republican prosecutor's office cannot remain aloof from the nationwide discussion. Recently, at a discussion with the participation of city and rayon prosecutors and representatives of other law enforcement organs, legal science, and legal education, we put forward a number of observations and constructive proposals. Nor did we ignore the proposals already published in the press. In particular, there is resolute support for the proposal published in PRAVDA on 9 November of this year by I. Karpets and K. Skvortsov, to exclude from the Draft Law on Amendments and Additions to the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the USSR the provision that prosecutors cannot be deputies of the soviets on whose territory they exercise their functions (Article 96 of the draft). This proposal is justified on the basis that in the conditions of consistent separation of functions between the legislative, executive, and judicial authorities, the prosecutor's office belongs to none of these "powers," and its organs form a strictly centralized system. At the same time, as I myself can judge from many years of practical work, if a prosecutor is a deputy, this, far from lessening his autonomy, in fact ensures independence from local organs and helps to strengthen the rule of law in the soviets' activity.

At the same time we cannot agree with the proposal put forward by Professor V. Savitskiy on 13 November in IZVESTIYA on the inexpediency of retaining the appelation "supreme" for the prosecutors' oversight, since it has supposedly become entirely obsolete and constitutional oversight is now entering state practice. This proposal, in our view, is incompatible with the requirements of the 19th party conference decisions and a number of CPSU Central Committee resolutions on increasing the role and responsibility of the prosecutors' oversight. The formation of the constitutional oversight committee does not release the USSR prosecutor general and his subordinate prosecutors from the exercise of oversight over the strict and uniform execution of the laws by all ministries, state committees and departments, enterprises, institutions, and organizations, executive and administrative organs of local soviets, social organizations, and officials, without exception. It is important to bear in mind that oversight and monitoring functions are also invested in certain other organs with which the prosecutor's office collaborates, while at the same time exercising oversight over the legality of their own activity, which also gives rise to its definition as supreme overseer.

I do not think new approaches or the novelty of proposals should embarrass us in discussing draft laws. But these proposals and approaches should undoubtedly be of a constructive nature and should truly, purposefully promote restructuring in the conditions of a Soviet socialist society.

In this context I cannot ignore another kind of reaction to the draft laws under discussion that has been displayed by some leaders and activists of the Latvian People's Front and its "experts"—lawyers and representatives of a number of informal associations. Matters have gone so far that many of them are putting forward in a categorical manner, as ultimatums, the demand not to adopt the draft laws at all, and thereby in effect to wreck the reform of the political system that is being carried out on the CPSU's initiative.

This is being done without any justification, on the farfetched pretext that the draft laws are supposedly contrary to the 19th party conference decisions, promote the centralization of the state, and are detrimental to Latvia's interests.

With a view to further whipping up tension in the republic, pickets are being set up and signatures collected for a petition demanding that the draft laws not be adopted. The initiators of these actions are not bothered in the least that many of those on the pickets and collecting signatures have not read the draft laws and are not even familiar with them.

In early November the Latvian People's Front Duma adopted a resolution, disseminated by some of the mass media, asserting without foundation that the draft laws under discussion do not consolidate the 19th party conference course of developing self-management and full power for the soviets, but substantially limit the sovereignty of the union republics. The Latvian People's Front leadership resolved: "to acknowledge that the draft laws submitted for nationwide discussion, in their present form, are unacceptable," and proposes to confine itself to adopting a temporary provision on elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet alone.

But the opponents of the draft laws have gone further in their desire to thwart their adoption. As the youth newspaper PADOMYU YAUNATNE reported on 10 November of this year, the members of the Latvian People's Front Duma met with members of the Estonian People's Front and the Lithuanian movement for restructuring to discuss the main question of protesting the draft laws under discussion. Many Soviet people probably find it hard to believe and even harder to understand, but, as that newspaper reported (and with no further commentary), the draft laws under discussion are "a revision of the CPSU's new course, even open counterrevolution, a substantial step back toward the period of stagnation."

Along with this entirely unsubstantiated and basically slanderous observation, the newspaper PADOMYU YAUNATNE puts forward a demand to collect signatures and not to permit discussion of the draft laws in the USSR Supreme Soviet (in the newspaper item they are called the "undemocratic Constitution"). It is also proposed to "demand that Latvian deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet take the responsibility of expressing their will—and not to vote for the adoption of this draft." This proposal is backed up by an open threat—a reference to the voters' right, in accordance with the procedure laid down by law and in a relatively short time, to recall Supreme Soviet deputies.

This threat has already turned into a campaign of open pressure on deputies of the USSR and republican supreme soviets.

In the same newspaper, PADOMYU YAUNATNE, instructions were publisehd on how and to whom to addrress letters expressing "protest against the draft constitution." They even expressed the desire for these to be sent by registered post.

Even during the recent visit to the republic by V.A. Medvedev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, when the draft laws were explained convincingly and in detail to many collectives, D.E. Ivans, chairman of the Latvian People's Front and member of the CPSU, in his speech on republican television, called for the organization of mass protest demonstrations against the draft laws.

It is necessary to know these facts in order to understand what lies behind the assertion of certain Latvian People's Front leaders and activists—that the Latvian people are against the adoption of the draft laws.

The opposition to the adoption of the draft laws is no accident; it is very closely linked to the desire of certain groups and individuals for national isolation and separation of the republic, and the kindling of contradictions between the interests of Latvia and the Soviet Union as a whole. Therefore it is understandable that the real strengthening of people's power in the country is incompatible with these basically nationalistic manifestations.

The opposition to the adoption of the draft laws was promoted to a considerable degree by major omissions in the implementation of skilled, objective explanatory work in the republic. Another important fact is that the republic's mass media, with the exception of the newspapers TSINYA and SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA, have in effect gotten out of party control and influence and become the patrimony of their editors or other groups of individuals.

The republic is now learning the necessary lessons from the course of discussion of the draft laws. Under the leadership of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, many party organizations are rebuffing attempts to undermine the friendship of the USSR's peoples and put forward ultimatums.

But all of us, as M.S. Gorbachev noted in his speech at the conference in Orel on 15 November, should see clearly that in the conditions of restructuring, political

extremism of a nationalist nature is particularly intolerable and dangerous, since it hampers the normal development of the democratic process and is damaging to the entire cause of our whole people.

### Medvedev Criticism of Latvian 'Isolation' Cited

*LD2011054588 Moscow TASS in English 0514 GMT 20 Nov 88*

[From the "Soviet Baltic Panorama" feature]

[Text] Riga November 20—By LATINFORM news analyst Laila Melnais:

Many-faceted processes of perestroyka have been developing rapidly in Latvia since the 19th all-union party conference. Less than six months have passed since the conference, but it has already imparted to Soviet society the features that markedly altered its look. This confirms the existing opinion that Soviet people view the party forum as a real platform for transformations. A four-day tour of Soviet Latvia in mid-November by Vadim Medvedev, a member of the Politburo and a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, a busy schedule of his stay in Latvia offered an opportunity to present in a concentrated form the character and problems of the perestroyka drive in this Baltic republic.

Vadim Medvedev noted that perestroyka has first of all yielded results in the area of ideology, in the sphere of spiritual life, in liberating people's thinking. This gave Soviet people a sense of being full-fledged members of society, enabled them to make a profound and thorough analysis of problems of the past and the present. Vadim Medvedev emphasised that this course in the area of ideology will be continued. At the same time he deemed it necessary to note that an extremely important stage has now set in in perestroyka. "We embark upon a period when debates and meetings, disputes and emotions are not enough. It is necessary to get down to practical deeds", he said.

This remark largely referred to matters connected with the idea of cost-accounting, of an economic reform in Latvia. It is declared insistently in Latvia that its economy should be restructured in such a way that it should be oriented in its work predominantly at the needs of the republic. The authors of the concept of Latvia's cost-accounting are of the opinion that this will give Latvia great economic independence and will bring the living standards of its people in keeping with the volume and quality of products manufactured.

Vadim Medvedev, an economist by education, described these views as an illusion. Isolation is in utter contradiction to present-day tendencies of the economic development and is rejected by world practice, he said. Problems of integration, of finding the optimum place for the republic in the division of labour on a countrywide scale cannot be dodged. Nevertheless, all this does not exclude the analysis of the question of regional cost-accounting, local self-government, local economic management, restructuring of relations in production.

Questions of perestroyka of the party and the state system outlined by the 19th party conference posed in an acute and controversial way during conversations with teachers of higher educational establishments, the creative intelligentsia, demonstrators in the streets.

There were heated debates on the published draft laws—amendments to the Constitution of the USSR and the new law on elections. Vadim Medvedev said he cannot understand sharp objection to a number of provisions of the documents by some participants of the meetings. He said their concern that the draft laws contradict the decisions of the party conference, restrict the sovereignty of the republic, enhance centralisation are groundless. Vadim Medvedev is of the opinion that during a debate of many hours with leading jurists of the republic these objections were jointly considered, fundamental contradictions discussed and common viewpoints found.

Leaving Latvia, the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee expressed the confidence that Latvia's party organization will be able to resolve the problems that are heatedly discussed by the public now. He called for unity of the progressive forces declaring for perestroyka and said that all extremist manifestations should be decisively rebuffed. "A concerted constructive effort aimed at the implementation of practical tasks is the chief factor of a confident advance along the road of perestroyka", Vadim said.

### Azeri Gets Death Sentence in Sumgait Trial

*AU1811220888 Paris AFP in English 2207 GMT 18 Nov 88*

[Text] Moscow, Nov 18 (AFP)—One of three Azeris accused of taking part in a massacre of Armenians in Azerbaijan last February was sentenced to death here Friday by the Soviet Supreme Court, Armenian sources told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE.

Kuren Nagapetyan, an Armenian spokesman who was in the courtroom, told AFP that Ahmed Ahmedov, 24, was convicted of murder.

He was also found guilty of participating in three days of violence in the city of Sumgait, which left 32 people dead, 26 of them Armenians, Mr. Nagapetyan said.

Earlier in the trial, Mr. Ahmedov told the court he was innocent of murder and said he had confessed under duress. He admitted taking part in "mass disturbances".

Mr. Nagapetyan said that "very few" Armenians attended the hearings here.

The wife of Armenian militant Vasguen Manukyan told AFP by telephone from the Armenian capital, Yerevan, that the people there would not be satisfied with the verdict. "We want all the guilty tried," she said.

### New Strike, Rallies in Yerevan Reported

*PM1911132788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Nov 88 Second Edition p 6*

[Report by A. Sarkisyan: "Armenia's Troubled Fall"]

[Text] Yerevan, 18 Nov—The events of recent days in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] have again been echoed in Armenia. A one-day strike was declared in Yerevan. Many thousands of people marched through the city streets.

The day before these events I and a colleague, IZVESTIYA correspondent S. Bablumyan, were invited to a meeting with the collective of Yerevan's "Araks" plant.

"What are we going to be talking about," we asked.

"What do you think? Karabakh..."

Yes, for over 8 months now not a day has passed in Armenia without a discussion of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. And so it was at yesterday's meeting: The talk was exclusively, as we generally find ourselves writing these days, about events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh. What else can we do? Changes have taken place in the public consciousness that seem to me to be an irreversible process. People are asking questions pointedly, impartially, and, at times, not very tactfully. The basic idea that people are putting forward was expressed in a letter to the editor which includes the following lines: "Provide all Soviet people with authentic information about the very complex events taking place in and around the NKAO..."

Well, agreed, the events are complex and they demand comprehensive examination and well-considered assessments and decisions. But when it came to the forms and methods used by the participants in the movement, opinion was divided.

"You condemn the strike. And we are not its most fervent supporters. But how else do we get across our demands when our letters are not answered and the newspapers stay silent?"

I am talking at length about one of the numerous meetings at labor collectives for the simple reason that the very same questions are being asked everywhere.

And when we arrived in Theater Square in the evening at another rally, the loudspeakers were conveying familiar demands: "Solve the NKAO problem," "Condemn the heinous crimes against Armenians in Sumgait; give a political evaluation," "Reunite the NKAO with Armenia."

The situation has deteriorated mainly because of the new events in the NKAO. The decisions of the latest oblast soviet session were read out in Theater Square. The reaction was tumultuous.

The next day the square was rocked by another announcement: In Stepanakert, where a curfew is still in force, there was an alleged clash between subunits of special forces [podrazdeleniya spetsnaznacheniya] and the population. Seven people went to the oblast hospital for medical assistance.

Because no official announcements appeared in the press, Theater Square again, for the umpteenth time, became the venue for hearing rumors and for obtaining information. But those bearing the information were commenting as well. And it is no wonder that the call for a one-day national [obshchenatsionalnyy] strike as a mark of solidarity with the striking population of Stepanakert was supported by the vast majority of the rally participants. Someone also announced that convoys of trucks carrying construction materials for the NKAO were not able to reach their destination because of unsafe roads. Someone tacked on to the arguments for a strike a demand to combine all the criminal cases in the Sumgait trial and examine them as a whole—as an organized crime against Armenian nationals.

Transport and most enterprises and institutions have been idle in the city since this morning. There was a rally in Theater Square. By evening the situation had returned to normal in the city.

### 1 Million March

*AU1811204888 Paris AFP in English 2018 GMT 18 Nov 88*

[Text] Moscow, Nov 18 (AFP)—A general strike paralyzed the cities of Soviet Armenia Friday and one million people marched through the capital, Yerevan, in support of Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh, an enclave in neighbouring Azerbaijan, Armenian nationalist sources said.

"There is 100 per cent support for the strike. We have never seen anything like this," Ambartsum Galstyan, spokesman for the Karabakh committee told AFP by telephone.

The president of the presidium of Armenia's Supreme Soviet (Parliament), Grant Voskanyan, the Central Committee's secretary for ideological issues, Galust Galoyan, and other officials attended a meeting in Yerevan's Opera Square.

Mr. Voskanyan said parliament would convene on Tuesday.

After the rally one million people marched through the city, while protestors brandished banners calling for the trial of "the real culprits" responsible for anti-Armenian violence in the Azerbaijani city of Sumgait in which 32 people were killed in February.

Armenia has been hit by several strikes since the start of the year in sympathy with the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh.

Some 200,000 people rallied in Yerevan on Wednesday to express support for the one-day strike.

The stoppage is meant to be a warning to draw authorities' attention to the need to satisfy Armenians' demands in Nagorno-Karabakh, nationalist sources said. They want the lifting of a partial curfew in force since September 21 and the annexation of the enclave to Armenia.

## Baku: 'Unsanctioned' Construction Causes Concern

### Officials Consider Housing Problems

*LD2011115188 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0204 GMT 19 Nov 88*

[Excerpts] Today members and candidate members of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Committee, deputies of the USSR and Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviets, and a number of leaders of the party, soviet, and economic bodies of the republic met with labor collectives of Baku and informed them of the results of the plenum of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Committee held recently where the question of measures for speeding up the solution of housing problems were discussed. There was also a talk about recent incidents in Nagorno-Karabakh and around it.

As in the case of the previous plenum, all materials from this plenum were published in the press in accordance with the line of further democratization of social life and expansion of glasnost. It was noted that the plenum of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Committee regards providing the population with housing as one of the most acute and urgent problems of the social development of the republic. [passage omitted]

Great attention was paid in the information to the situation in and around the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. Construction work carried out by the cooperative workers under Kanaker Aluminium Works of the Armenia SSR without any permission at a place called Topkhana very near Shusha, has rightly aroused indignation among working people of the republic. This place is a historical natural monument. It was a fortress in the heroic fight of the people of Azerbaijan against the Iranian invaders. People rightly regard intentionally or unintentionally encroaching on this place as encroaching on their sacred wealth and their historical monument.

As it was reported, participants of meetings held in Baku appealed for effective measures to keep the monument in this place. There is no doubt that the natural monument will hold its upright splendor and wounds inflicted upon it will be healed. In the meantime, it was pointed out that certain forces are successfully abusing people's natural excitement and sorrow. They are using events taking place here to provoke unhealthy passion and emotions and arousing interethnic hostility. Thus, they join the extremists who are carrying out activity in this direction in the Nagorno- Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and Armenia.

It was pointed out that protecting and increasing the internationalist traditions of people of Baku with care, displaying necessary restraint and understanding, and supporting by all means the resolute and persistent line carried out by the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Committee for restoring the friendly relations between the two fraternal people and stabilizing the situation are urgent and necessary.

### Rally Questions Construction

*PM2011181988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Nov 88 First Edition p 4*

[Report by PRAVDA correspondent Z. Kadymbekov: "Authoritative Information Needed"]

[Text] Baku, 20 Nov—For several nights bonfires have been burning on Baku's central square near the seashore. People have been staying round the clock.

What brought them here, despite the rain and the cold? It is the same old story—the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast events. What got people agitated and brought them to the square was the news that cooperative workers attached to the Kanaker Aluminum Plant had begun some unsanctioned construction in the Topkhan area, not far from Shusha.

"What are they putting up there?" was the question they were asking on the square. Some say it is a "response to the construction in Khodzhaly," others have different ideas... One thing is clear: There is a lack of real information.

All manner of questions crop up at the round-the-clock rally. Often precisely because of the absence of reliable information. And the rumors are highly contradictory, often bearing unverified, but highly alarming, inflammatory news. Indeed, it is probably extremely important for official bodies in both republics—both Armenia and Azerbaijan—and the USSR to react promptly to these issues. Clear, authoritative information is needed.

People are not dispersing to their homes. Although the rally, which has gone on for several days, has been orderly and there have been no breaches of the law in the 3 days, emotional tension is high. It was past midnight when I left the square. The light of the bonfires picked people's tired faces out of the darkness as they continued to discuss the questions which undoubtedly require authentic, concrete answers.

### RSFSR Supreme Soviet on Estonia, Constitution

*LD2111172088 Moscow TASS in English 1711 GMT 21 Nov 88*

[Text] Moscow November 21 TASS—The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (Parliament) of the Russian Federation, the biggest of the USSR's 15 constituent republics, at its session here today examined the course of the discussion of the draft laws on amendments to the Constitution and elections of people's deputies of the USSR.

It was noted that the draft laws, submitted for nationwide discussion, had been viewed by the population as an important step towards the practical implementation of the reform of the political system, further democratisation of Soviet society and the assertion of principles of socialist state committed to the rule of law.

The Presidium adopted a resolution which pointed out that the successful implementation of the tasks of the first stage of the political reform largely determined the entire process of the revolutionary renewal of state and public life.

The Presidium of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet stated that the amendments to the Constitution and some other legislative acts adopted by the Supreme Soviet of Estonia contradicted the basic principles of socialist federalism endorsed in the USSR Constitution and did not contribute to developing a united Soviet multi-ethnic state.

### Uzbek, Tajik SSR's Supreme Soviets Meet

*LD2011070588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0000 GMT 20 Nov 88*

[Text] Deputies to sessions of the supreme soviets of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan have confirmed the state plans for economic and social development, as well as the republic's budgets for next year.

A particular role will be assigned in the plans to social programs: The share of funds for consumption and social and cultural construction in Uzbekistan has been increased when compared with the tasks of the 5-year plan, and now amount to 83 percent.

A number of issues concerned with practical solutions to Tajikistan's still-acute food problem, and with improving the well-being of the population and the ecological situation were discussed at the session in Dushanbe. The deputies confirmed the decrees of the republic's presidium.

## Discussion of Constitution Changes Viewed

### Analyst Notes Social Reaction

*LD2111092788 Moscow TASS in English 0810 GMT 21 Nov 88*

[Text] Moscow November 21 TASS—By TASS news analyst Yuriy Sizov

The draft new laws on suggested changes to the Constitution of the USSR and on election of people's deputies of the USSR are being regarded in this country as an important step in democratizing top state structures.

A majority of Soviet people have come to view them as a reaffirmation of the course, adopted by the 19th Party Conference of the CPSU, towards building a law-governed state and deepening perestroyka (restructuring process). About 120,000 letters that supplement and suggest more precise definitions for these major political documents of perestroyka have already come in to the USSR Supreme Soviet (Parliament) alone.

The public comments and suggestions contain a good deal of constructive proposals. They concern a procedure for the formation of the supreme bodies of state power, the determination of the powers of a congress of people's deputies of the USSR, and a procedure for the election of judges.

A particularly active social reaction has been aroused by the idea, put forward by the party conference, to institute the post of a congress-elected president of the Supreme Soviet, which the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee is to stand for. An absolute majority of the participants in the discussion share the point of view that the institution of such a post is politically justified now.

Of course Soviet people's opinions do not coincide in every detail but sometimes are even diametrically opposite to one another. Most often opinions diverge when matters concern new aspects of political life.

Some people are confused, for example, by the new rule for the selection of deputies from public organizations. Valentina Alekseyeva from Leningrad, a reader of PRAVDA, is puzzled by the fact that two such different organizations as the CPSU and cooperatives would get an equal number of seats.

There are, naturally, many lawyers among those who make suggestions. Within the sphere of their interests are the constitution's articles which are connected with the election and activities of people's courts. Viktor

Yeroshenko, a lawyer from Krasnoyarsk (eastern Siberia) is of the opinion that "only higher soviets of people's deputies should elect judges, which corresponds to the decision of the 19th all-union party conference."

It is also noteworthy that individual divergences of opinion about the draft laws occur when among members of the deputies' preparatory commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet which receives Soviet people's evaluations and suggestions from all over the country.

The commission's chairman, Vladimir Lomonosov, deputy chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, reported in the press recently that an extensive discussion had been aroused among the commission members, for example, by the question of duration of a Supreme Soviet session. The draft law stipulates that it should continue for four months. Some members of the commission still maintain that the duration of a session should not be stipulated in the Constitution of the USSR: Let it be determined by the deputies themselves, depending on the agenda of a session.

An item concerning the consideration of the suggestions and remarks that were made during the country-wide discussion of the two draft laws was discussed last Saturday at a meeting of the commissions for legislative proposals of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Following a thorough discussion, the commissions agreed with the adjustments and more precise definitions of individual provisions of the draft laws suggested by the deputies' preparatory commission, and decided to submit the prepared proposals to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

In accordance with the instruction from the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet the commissions also considered an item concerning the decisions taken by the Estonia Supreme Soviet on November 16. The commissions, in their conclusion about the decisions, pointed out that they contained a number of provisions that run counter to the norms of the Constitution of the USSR on which the Soviet socialist federation is based. The commissions' detailed conclusion on the issue has been submitted to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

## AUCCTU Official on 'Suggestions'

*PM2111094988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Nov 88 Second Edition p 2*

[Interview with V.G. Lomonosov, leader of the deputies preparatory commission and deputy chairman of the AUCCTU, by V. Lyubitskiy: "Power of the Soviets, Power of the People. Lessons at the First Stage. Draft Laws at the Intersection of Opinion" date, place of not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The deputies preparatory commission that is receiving people's assessments and proposals from all over the country on the upcoming changes to the country's Constitution and to our electoral system could rightfully be described as such an intersection. Understandably, V.G. Lomonosov, the leader of the commission and deputy chairman of the AUCCTU, is very busy now: The next session is in a few days.

[Lyubitskiy] Vladimir Grigoryevich, judging by the PRAVDA mailbag, there is a broad, wide-ranging flood of opinion....

[Lomonosov] Quite right. You know what's striking? The way the ideals of restructuring are asserting themselves in people's minds. For instance, the recent experience of preparing for the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference has had a palpable impact on the nature of the current discussion of the draft laws: There is the same unfeigned activeness and the same sincere desire to get to the very essence of the planned changes. Millions of citizens are taking part in the debate, and the majority are casting their vote in favor of the measures proposed by the drafts to reconstruct our political system. However, there is nothing surprising in this: For they have been elaborated on the basis of the conference decisions that have already been tested by public opinion. Of course, there are many critical comments and specific proposals and more precise definitions—they are also being examined now by our commission.

[Lyubitskiy] PRAVDA gave an account of one of these sessions, but the readers would like to obtain a more detailed idea of your work.

[Lomonosov] In itself the commission is small—11 people in all: A. Karpov, director of the Biyskiy Chemical Combine; Sh. Aliyev, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Party Control Committee; M. Fomicheva, weaver at Riga's "Lenta" Textile Haberdashery Factory; Kh. Parik, director of Estonia's "Tartu" Experimental Model Sovkhoz; and other deputies. Working groups from the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium are helping us. Moreover, at various phases we bring in a broad range of specialists—lawyers, economists, social scientists—notably from the union republics. The diversity of the viewpoints—both those of the letter writers and the experts—is an important indicator of the democratic nature of the discussion. It is important to ensure that pluralism does not turn into competition over "who will shout down whom," but aids in the responsible comparison of opinions and is used to jointly seek out the best solutions and joint actions to implement them.

Incidentally, there are differences of opinion among the members of the commission themselves on individual questions. For instance, while drawing up Article 112 of the Draft Law on Changes and Addenda to the Constitution, the commission recorded that the USSR Supreme Soviet session will, generally, last 4 months. But some members of the commission still believe today that the Fundamental Law should not stipulate a term at all—this should be determined by the deputies themselves depending on the session's agenda. Sometimes 1-2

months may be enough for them and at other times 6 months may be necessary, or the session may adjourn for some time after working 1 month in order for the deputies to study the question under discussion further.

[Lyubitskiy] It is no secret to you, Vladimir Grigoryevich, that the writers of certain letters have expressed disappointment with the draft laws since they believe that the Constitution should be completely revised. What do you say to this?

[Lomonosov] It is now a question merely of the first phase of the reform of the political system, which concerns the supreme organs of state power and government and judicial organs. This will affect 49 out of 174 articles in the Constitution. The development of restructuring will create conditions for the reform to progress further, and it is proposed to resolve other major tasks during subsequent phases, as was noted at the recent session of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. These include the harmonization of relations between the USSR and the union republics and then questions of the status of union and autonomous republics in order to broaden their rights and opportunities in various spheres of economic, sociopolitical, and cultural life.

Admittedly, one can also hear voices saying the following: Let's postpone discussion of the changes so as to prepare a new draft constitution again when the time comes. But the overwhelming majority of responses regard the documents submitted for discussion as a major step forward along the path of democratization and of the implementation of the decisions of the 19th party conference, which have won nationwide support. Let me mention that the resolution that predetermined our present work is called "On Certain Urgent Measures To Practically Implement the Reform of the Country's Political System." These measures are now being given juridical form. If we forgo changes to the Constitution, we will also have to postpone the election of the supreme organs of power that are to undertake all the future work of implementing the reform. The new members are to adopt laws on local self-management, the local economy, the status of people's deputies, the press, trade union rights, young people, voluntary societies and organs of social initiative, freedom of conscience, the principles of criminal legislation, the rights and obligations of the Soviet militia, and others. If we postpone the elections, we will lose time needed for restructuring, and the process of democratization will begin to falter and cadre renewal will be retarded.... In short, the time factor is of such significance that postponing the overdue constitutional changes is inadmissible, just as they must not be accelerated in a willful manner.

[Lyubitskiy] The opinions you are talking about, however, sometimes don't sound as if they are in the spirit of democratic discussion, but assume the character of ultimatums....

[Lomonosov] One such viewpoint boils down to the fact that the draft laws are designed to attain further centralization in the sphere of exercising state power and management, and they lack a legal mechanism for protecting union republics' interests.

There are no grounds for this kind of assessment. After all, when the suggestions pertaining to the draft laws are argued in a well-considered fashion, our preparatory commission endeavors to examine them attentively and, where possible, to take them into consideration.

Let me cite some examples. Some comrades saw a danger of excessive centralization in Article 113 Paragraph 7 of the draft which concerns the fact that the USSR Supreme Soviet "implements legislative regulation of relations of property, organization of the management of the economy and of sociocultural construction, the finance and budget system, labor remuneration, price formation, taxation, environmental protection, use of natural resources, and exercise of citizens' constitutional rights, freedoms, and obligations...." The deputies commission, having discussed this paragraph and the suggestions pertaining to it, has deemed it possible to amend it to read as follows: "exercises **within the limits of the competence of the USSR**."

Paragraph 10 of the same article says: "It examines the most important questions of ethnic and interethnic relations." But what does "most important" mean? Is there not an opportunity here for the center to interfere in the rights of the republics? The commission has decided to submit the following version for further discussion: "examines questions of ethnic and interethnic relations **of all-union significance**."

Of course, it is up to the session of the country's Supreme Soviet to make the final decision on all these and other amendments which our commission will put forward (we have now reworded more than half of the articles).

[Lyubitskiy] My last question, Vladimir Grigoryevich, concerns the new electoral system. The point is that the editorial mailbag, besides containing suggestions on this score, also contains requests for clarification as to where the innovation and the democratism of the planned changes lies.

[Lomonosov] There are many innovations. I will only mention those which, judging by the reactions, are attracting the most attention. First, the representation of all groups and strata of the population in the supreme organ of power will expand—by increasing the number of deputies from 1,500 to 2,500 and owing to their being sent directly from public organizations. Thus the Supreme Soviet will be able not only to consider more fully the interests of trade unions, veterans, women, young people, creative unions, and so on but also to reinforce their control and organization of the execution of the decisions adopted. For instance, only 12 deputies

in the country's current Supreme Soviet—who are permanent trade union workers—represent the 142 million trade union members. There will be 100 trade union representatives in the new organ of power.

[Lyubitskiy] Functionaries again?

[Lomonosov] Not at all. They will be members of elective trade unions, that is people who have obtained a kind of vote of confidence from labor collectives' trade union organizations.

Incidentally, individual opinions seem to consider that the opportunities for nominating candidates are becoming narrower in the new draft laws. But suffice it to look at Article 100 of the draft changes to the Constitution to see that this is not the case. There is no restriction on the number of candidates during the election of people's deputies; every participant in the pre-election meeting may present any candidacy for discussion, including his own. In addition our commission has also prepared its own proposals on this question: From the phrase "more candidates are included on the ballot papers as a rule than there are mandates," the words "as a rule" have been deleted.

Indisputably, the formation of territorial electoral districts based on an equal numbers of voters rather than on the number of inhabitants as was the case before will also be a step toward democratization.

All USSR people's deputies, irrespective of whether they are elected from territorial and national-territorial districts or from public organizations are equal. The elections to the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities will be held at the congress, with the annual renewal of the chambers moreover (in this case too our commission proposes an amendment of the draft law: "one-fifth" of their members, rather than "up to one-fifth"). This rotation will enable considerably more deputies to be involved in the work of the Supreme Soviet, while at the same time preserving continuity in the chambers' activity over the entire period of their authority.

I repeat that I cannot list all the innovations. But despite this, the preparatory commission is examining thoroughly and without exception the comments and proposals that it is receiving in order to enable the Supreme Soviet to consider all opinions, and to make the adoption of changes and addenda to the Constitution and the renewal of the electoral law truly an act of all the people. Discussion of the drafts will undoubtedly constitute a school of democratism for our society, whose lessons will stand us in good stead in future stages of reform.

## Ligachev, Baklanov at Defense Complex Ministries

*PM2111101988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Nov 88 Second Edition p 2*

[TASS report: "Using the Defense Sectors' Potential To Develop the Agro-industrial Complex"]

[Text] Comrades Ye.K. Ligachev and O.D. Baklanov have just visited a number of defense complex machine building ministries.

For monitoring purposes they discussed with the ministries' leaders and specialists progress in meeting targets for the production of machinery and equipment for the processing and food sectors of the agro-industrial complex, as envisaged by CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolutions and instructions issued at the recent conference on this topic at the party Central Committee. There was also a discussion of the fulfillment of the current year's plans and of the development and output of new, more productive equipment in the very near future.

It was noted that the defense ministries and their enterprises are making a determined shift in the direction of retooling the material base of the food complex. Many enterprises and design and technology organizations have been enlisted and progressive techniques and materials are being used to implement this task.

At the same time, as O.D. Baklanov noted, the rate of production of series equipment is inadequate and some enterprises are failing to implement plans for the manufacture of equipment. It was stressed that this is impermissible and ultimately leads to losses of agricultural raw material. There have been instances of the unwarranted raising of prices for new equipment.

Summing up the inspection, Ye.K. Ligachev stressed that the technical production and creative potential of some ministries in the defense complex is still being inadequately exploited in terms of strengthening the agricultural raw material processing and food production base. The development of new machinery and equipment has been sluggish, and some of the items fall short of modern demands. He drew the attention of ministry leaders, designers, and technologists to the need to accelerate the development and delivery to agro-industrial complex enterprises of such machinery and highly productive lines for foodstuff production as are distinguished by reliability and a high degree of automation and computerization, particularly at the stage of the final operations.

The production of compact equipment for small- and medium-capacity processing enterprises under construction in the places where the raw material is produced—kolkhozes and sovkhozes—should also be increased.

Attention was paid to the all-around development and thorough revamping of enterprises of the former Ministry of Machine Building for the Food Industry which have been transferred to ministries' of the defense complex. It is important here to provide collectives with housing and social and cultural facilities.

Ye.K. Ligachev stressed the need for an orderly working arrangement between the machine building ministries and the client—the USSR Gosagroprom—in determining technical policy, establishing plans, financing the development of new technology, and determining more rational ways of using the considerable state funds and credits allocated for this purpose. The requisite instructions on this score have been issued.

O.S. Belyakov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Defense Industry Department, Ye.I. Sizenko, first deputy chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom, A.D. Budyka, USSR minister of grain products, and the leaders of other interested ministries and departments and senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee apparatus participated in the examination of the issues.

**Youth Organization Chief Interviewed**
*LD1011142388 Moscow TASS in English 1136 GMT 10 Nov 88*

[Text] Moscow November 10 TASS—"The principles of new political thinking are also manifest in activities of our organization," a TASS correspondent has been told by Viktor Kamyshanov, deputy chairman of the Committee of Youth Organizations of the USSR. He gave an interview on the occasion of the World Youth Day, being marked today.

"We are looking for forms of interaction with conservative and radical youth organizations, including those which had no contacts with us before", he said.

The Committee of Youth Organizations of the USSR established relations with the Democratic Youth Community of Europe in summer this year. Cooperation with young socialists, liberals, revolutionary-democratic movement, religious youth organizations has become brisker. The Committee of Youth Organizations of the USSR is maintaining relations with 2,000 youth organizations from over 150 countries. Over 30 Soviet youth organizations: public, professional, sport are now affiliated with the Committee of Youth Organizations of the USSR. 5-6 delegations visit the Soviet Union every week at its invitation. Over 5,000 people go abroad every year on the auspices of the organisation, Kamyshanov said.

The Committee of Youth Organizations promotes broad cooperation and dialogue between youth organizations of various political, ideological and philosophic orientations, Kamyshanov said. One of its main goals is to invigorate the struggle of Soviet boys and girls for preservation of peace, for unity of action of the youth and students of all countries.

The committee's deputy chairman noted that the committee actively participated in activities of the World Federation of Democratic Youth and said that preparations were now under way in Kiev, the capital of the Ukraine, for a meeting of the Executive Committee of the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

A programme of action of the international youth movement for the near future will be outlined at the meeting planned to be held on November 29-December 1.

**Komsomol Central Committee Begins Fourth Plenum**
*LD1911073888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 18 Nov 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The fourth plenum of the Komsomol Central Committee began its work today. Delivering a report, Comrade Mironenko, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, noted that the Komsomol has managed to arouse initiative, purpose, and political activeness among young people in many regions. However, nobody has cancelled the need for discipline. In this connection it is important to find a balance between unity and independence in order to prevent the organization from splitting into a federation of national or professional groups.

The plenum comprehensively considered ways of resolving pressing problems; and interesting proposals were heard on the principles of the Komsomol's construction, on reorganizing the structure of the Komsomol apparatuses, and on expanding the independence of Komsomol organizations. It is intended that these and other issues will be discussed during a Komsomol-wide debate. The plenum of the Komsomol Central Committee will continue on 19 November.

**Plenum Participants Cited**
*PM1811163188 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Nov 88 p 1*

[Unnamed TASS correspondent article: "It Is Not Only From the Rostrum That Participants in the Komsomol Central Committee Plenum Will Be Able To Express Their Views"]

[Text] Moscow—The subject of the Komsomol Central Committee plenum opening today—the democratization of the Komsomol—has meant that it has to be conducted in a new way. The right of every participant to express his opinion on any of the issues under discussion is being provided for. Five so-called "evening commissions" have been formed for this purpose, at which anyone who did not have time or, say, was too shy to speak out at the plenary session can express his viewpoint. These opinions will be registered in the record of proceedings and carry just as much weight as those expressed in the "official" way.

So what are the plenum participants and members of the Komsomol Central Committee preparing to talk about?

Valeriy Tsybukh, first secretary of the Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee:

The main subject of discussion should be the unity of our alliance. However hard it is to admit, today we have to defend and uphold the integrity of the Komsomol and its political stance. This is because some people are already proposing the idea of a federal youth alliance and saying that there should be alternative political organizations. Yes, we are in favor of informal, amateur organizations but we do not think that there should definitely be an alternative in terms of political direction. Flirting with political factions could place the Komsomol in the position it was in during the twenties—and it took a lot of effort to pull it clear.

Irina Voytk, veterinary surgeon from Tartu:

We must also discuss what is happening in Estonia. Many people, including young people, are poorly informed on the situation in the republic. The Komsomol must conduct more extensive explanatory work. This is now the most important thing of all—after all, it is young people who are most actively involved in attempts to solve the national issue. A "Green" movement has appeared in Estonia, in which mainly students are involved. The Komsomol is beginning to play a growing role in this movement.

Tatyana Khapayeva, a batcher from the "Iskra" Production Association in Smolensk:

I think one of the Komsomol's main problems is its structural reorganization. In my view, we must not cut the size of the Komsomol apparatus at local level without considering the volume of work being done. Let the obkom decide. And the scaling down process can only be carried out after bureaucratic methods have been eliminated from Komsomol work.

Among the plenum participants there is also a group of people who are not members of the Komsomol Central Committee but intend to make their own proposals nevertheless. They are members of a working group from the All-Union Meeting of Political Clubs, Andrey Moldavanov, Timur Raufov, and Natasha Babenko. They have been invited to the plenum as plenipotentiary representatives of the country's political clubs to...

Well, to do what? After all, they do not have the right to vote...

We have a triple task ahead of us, Andrey Moldavanov said. First, we have to discuss political clubs and what it is they are trying to do. Second, if they allow us to, we want to express our views on the Komsomol and its future form. And, finally, third, we want to see how the discussions at the plenum are conducted and hear what the participants have to offer, so that we can then relay this back to the political clubs.

We are an amateur association. But we do not stand in opposition to the Komsomol. It is true that in many aspects we are critical of the Komsomol, but this is only so that we can together examine the path it has taken so far, what it represents today, and the directions in which it should develop in the future.

## Plenum Ends 19 Nov

*LD2011034388 Moscow TASS in English 1605 GMT 19 Nov 88*

[Text] Moscow November 19 TASS—The line towards democratizing the Young Communist League, or Komsomol, of the Soviet Union has won weighty and justified support during the 4th plenary meeting of the Komsomol Central Committee which closed in Moscow today.

"Primary Komsomol organizations are striving to implement the democratic potential contained in our league," the Komsomol leader, Viktor Mironenko, said in his concluding remarks.

"A broad look on democratization encompassing not only Komsomol life but also financial and economic matters and participation in state affairs is being asserted," he said.

The participants in the plenum, in the course of fruitful and at times heated discussions, felt once again the acuteness and importance of problems of inter-ethnic relations.

They stressed the need for applying maximum effort to preserve a truly internationalist spirit of the organization and resolutely denounce and repulse any manifestations of chauvinism or nationalism among young people.

The plenum's resolution said that Komsomol favoured unification and consolidation of Komsomol members and young people who are not members of the organization, formal and informal setups, and achieving a united youth front in the campaign for perestroyka.

It denounced any activity directed at undermining socialist foundations, kindling ethnic enmity and eroding ideological and organizational unity of the Communist Youth league.

The plenum adopted decisions on reorganizing the structure of the Komsomol apparatus and expanding the independence of local Komsomol organizations.

## Economic

### Ryzhkov, Slyunkov Attend Meeting of Ministers

*LD1811191388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1750 GMT 18 Nov 88*

[Text] Moscow, 18 Nov (TASS)—At the USSR Council of Ministers today, there was a meeting of chairmen of the Councils of Ministers and chairmen of the state planning committees of the union republics. Participating in the meeting were the leaders of a number of central economic bodies and some leading scientists. The meeting discussed matters connected with the transfer of union republic economies to principles of self-government and self-financing. Representatives of all the republics spoke at the meeting.

There was a thoroughgoing exchange of views on the problems of delimiting the competence of the USSR and the Soviet republics in the sphere of the economy, handing over a number of management functions to the localities, strengthening their independence and responsibility in accordance with the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, and taking into account the tasks put forward by the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee on preparing for the Central Committee plenum on improving relations among the nationalities within the USSR. Particular emphasis was placed on the need for this work to be carried out in organic unity, implementing the transformations of the political system in the country and the in-depth economic reform.

Those attending the conference noted that the new economic mechanism for territorial management should be aimed at the harmonious combination of the interests of each republic with the common interests and needs of the country: at the consolidation of a union multinational state. The need to strengthen a single national economic complex, deepen specialization and cooperation as a regular process of the integration of socialist production, and develop economic cooperation among the republics was pointed out. Great attention was paid to the expansion and strengthening of the economic and financial bases of the republics and to making their incomes more dependent on the final results of the activity of all enterprises located in their territories, which is of definite importance in actually transforming the soviets of people's deputies into bodies of people's power enjoying full rights.

A principle-based discussion was also conducted on whether to bring new economic, organizational, and legal levers into action—whether to create favorable conditions for launching a local initiative, activating all the economic activity in the republics, and developing dynamic, balanced, and efficient production. Such a mechanism should become an organic link in the integral management system of the national economy. Different points of view and approaches to a number of questions regarding territorial management were discussed at the conference.

All those attending the conference agreed that the ultimate purpose of the coming transformations is to provide a firm material basis for the solution of the main social problems: to guarantee the satisfaction of the population's requirements for foodstuffs, consumer goods, services, housing, and medical assistance, and to improve the ecological situation and national and cultural development.

In keeping with the results of the conference, a commission was set up, the membership of which consists of representatives from all the union republics and a number of central economic bodies, and some scientists. The commission is charged with working out the general principles for restructuring the management of the economic and social sphere in the union republics as the basis for drawing up the relevant USSR draft law.

Taking part in the work of the conference were Nikolay Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Aleksandr Vlasov, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

The conference was conducted by Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

### Aganbegyan Reviews Results of Economic Reform

*LD2011084288 Moscow World Service in English 0410 GMT 19 Nov 88*

[Remarks by Dr Abel Aganbegyan recorded in Russian, fading into superimposed English translation]

[Text] [Announcer] One of the principal avenues of the process of restructuring underway in this country is economic reform. Here is what a leading Soviet economist, Dr Abel Aganbegyan, has to say about it:

[Begin recording] [Aganbegyan] There are three main aspects to the economic reform. Above all, the idea is to put the development of all spheres of the economy at the service of the individual; the second most important aspect is to carry out a far going modernization of production capacity; and the third aspect of the reform is to overhaul the managerial systems.

[Announcer] Perestroyka began 3 and ½ years ago, what are its initial results?

[Aganbegyan] I must say bluntly, and this was noted at the 19th national conference of the Communist Party in December, that restructuring has been slow and difficult in the economy. The people are aware of the profound change in the intellectual life of the nation and the new spirit of openness and of democracy, but there has not yet been a dramatic change in the economy. Having said that, I must also say that there are positive trends. Restructuring began after a period of stagnation in the economy. The manufacturing industries were cutting short the production of 40 percent of industrial goods.

Production on farms was declining since 1978. Covert price increases led to declining living standards. We managed to stop these negative economic trends, but we expected much faster economic progress.

[Announcer] What do you think is the reason for the slow growth?

[Aganbegyan] There are basically three reasons—the economic problems that we encountered during the period of stagnation proved far more serious than we thought. The other reason is that we tried to accelerate social and economic development by resorting to half measures. We did not go far enough; our farming is a relevant example. Having changed the managerial structure of our agro-industrial complex we hoped that this would be enough to assure stable growth, but we fell short of making a radical breakthrough. At the moment new radical proposals for advancing farming are in preparation in order to change the economic system of farming. We must reform production relations on the farm—that is, to do what we failed to do at the start of restructuring. I mean the attitudes of farmers towards land, machinery, and property. More farms and land will be leased to farmers, and more cooperatives will be formed. The third reason is that as part of restructuring, a pioneering undertaking for us, we still make serious mistakes in effecting a transition to a new system of management. Administrative dictating is still there this year, as the 19th national conference of the Communist Party noted.

[Announcer] When do you think we can expect radical change in the economy?

[Aganbegyan] The economic machinery cannot be switched into a higher gear at one go. In order to obtain dramatic change we need, above all, a new system of management. We are making first steps here and it is hard to expect good results while the system of management by decree prevails. We also must upgrade production capacity, and this will also take time. The basic problem we are facing is to be able to dramatically expand production output and improve the quality of goods and products. At the moment urgent measures are being taken to improve the situation. Huge investment has been made in that sphere of the economy from the national budget. For instance, a credit worth DM3 billion was taken recently in West Germany to purchase equipment for the light and food industries. Starting next year all these measures should begin to pay off. The rate of growth of consumer goods production next year will be over and above the rate of growth in the manufacture of the means of production. [end recording]

### New Legislation on Pensions Being Formulated

*LD1811225688 Moscow TASS in English 1434 GMT 18 Nov 88*

[Text] Moscow November 18 TASS—The Soviet Union is working on legislation to guarantee a subsistence wage in all social sectors, including those having no actual service record (housewives, for example). To achieve that, minimum pensions will depend not only on one's earnings but also on rational consumer spending.

"The number of pensioners in this country will grow from 58 million to 60 million in the next few years, hence the significance of the new legislation for our society," Professor Leonid Kunelskiy, a senior official at the USSR Committee on Labour and Social Issues has said.

"The current system of pensions is 30 years old and, despite numerous changes, does not satisfy the needs of pensioners who form a large social group, nor does it meet the social goals advanced in the course of perestroyka", Kunelskiy said in an interview with TASS.

Despite this, the advantages of the Soviet system of pensions should not be overlooked, as the USSR has one of the lowest pension ages: 55 for women and 60 for men. Besides, pensions are formed through deductions from the social funds of enterprises and from the state budget.

The legislation will regulate the granting of pensions and their sizes for all sections of the population.

The document is viewed as an attempt to remedy social injustice in pensions for different groups of Soviet citizens.

"It is also suggested that the document make a worker's pension more dependable on his or her share of work," the professor went on to say. "We will probably rely on the experience of some socialist countries, such as the GDR, where pensions are linked to workers' service records."

As the law will considerably raise pensions, it is also necessary to increase their maximum limits.

"As wages keep growing, by 1990 the majority of those retiring on a pension will be paid what today is the maximum pension, an inadmissible levelling out," Kunelskiy noted.

The document also stipulates possible increments at the expense of factories and personal savings.

At the same time, the law should enable regular increases of pensions, once every five years, for example.

The pensions law will be a principal social gain of the whole perestroyka period which will affect all aspects of society's life, Kunelskiy emphasized.

The draft legislation will have been the subject of a nationwide discussion before it becomes law, probably in the early nineties.

But even before the nationwide discussion begins, much of what the public and specialists have suggested, through the press, is being taken into account.

## Military

### General Yazov Discusses Army Restructuring

*PM1811130188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Nov 88 First Edition pp 1,2*

[Interview with Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA editorial office: "Democratization and the Armed Forces. Army General D.T. Yazov, Candidate Member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR Defense Minister, Answers KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Readers' Questions"—date, place not specified; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] A significant proportion of the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA mailbag is made up of letters touching one way or another on questions linked with the development of the democratization process in the Armed Forces. The KRASNAYA ZVEZDA editorial office asked Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, to answer these questions.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Comrade Army General, our readers are asking to what extent the democratization of Soviet society affects the Armed Forces and how it is seen in the Army and Navy.

[Yazov] Our party sees democratization as the key to resolving the tasks of the revolutionary restructuring of Soviet society and bringing it up to qualitatively new levels. The 27th CPSU Congress called democracy the healthy fresh air which alone allows the socialist social organism to live properly. Our Armed Forces are an inalienable component of this organism. The extension of the democratization process to them is quite natural.

Probably this process is seen in the Army and Navy first and foremost in the boosting of the sociopolitical and service activeness of servicemen. The ice of complacency and the passivity of some of the personnel have been broken. An atmosphere of mutual respect, trust, and openness is being asserted in collectives, and business-like criticism and self-criticism are being developed. The creative potential of party and Komsomol organizations and of all the Armed Forces' democratic institutions is being revealed more and more fully. The reaction of the Army and Navy public to negative phenomena is becoming more acute, which, incidentally, is being felt with regard to items in the press. All these are undoubtedly manifestations of democratization.

Unfortunately, the democratization of military life is not proceeding as quickly and as thoroughly as one would wish everywhere. Many units and ships still have a considerable proportion of personnel who have not joined in the common—I emphasize common—committed and responsible work of restructuring. The main thing is that in some places the democratization process still boils down primarily to just revealing, publicizing, and criticizing shortcomings. In any event, the denunciatory aspect of the structure of this process continues to prevail over the creative aspect. But the time has long since come for specific practical work—as was stated at the 19th all-union party conference. Command and political cadres and all Armed Forces personnel should now view the democratization of military life from this angle.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Many readers, particularly young people who have yet to be drafted, are interested in the question of social protection for servicemen and the political and civil rights of Army and Navy servicemen.

[Yazov] The resolution of this question was on the agenda of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Smashing the old military machine, the Leninist party placed at the head of military development in the Soviet republic the principle of the equality of the political and civil rights of servicemen. The Statute on the Organization of a New Socialist Army adopted by the December 1917 all-Army congress reflected the line of the equality of the political rights of servicemen. The statute envisaged broad participation by soldiers in the country's political life and in the formation and activity of organs of Soviet power.

The equal rights of servicemen as Soviet citizens were legislatively enshrined in the USSR Constitution. The Law on General Military Duty notes: "Servicemen and persons liable for draft summoned to assembly points enjoy full socioeconomic, political, and personal rights and freedoms and bear all the responsibilities of Soviet citizens stipulated by the USSR Constitution." Thus, the constitutional principle that each serviceman is a citizen and each citizen is a defender of the socialist fatherland has operated in our country for many decades. It is this fundamental principle that determines the democratic nature of the Soviet system of military building. Virtually all the institutions of socialist democracy exist in our Armed Forces. Participating in their work, servicemen, like all citizens, foster in themselves the sense of being masters of their country and full members of Soviet society.

The democratization of Army life is impossible to imagine without concern by commanders and political organs for the implementation of the principle of social justice. Military people, like all Soviet citizens, need reliable social protection and protection from violations of Army laws. This demand can be carried out by observing the rule: The principle of justice should always prevail. We note in this connection that those who act unfairly should be very severely dealt with, and any manifestation of injustice should be seen as a deviation from military order and a violation and discrediting of the law.

Military councils, commanders, and political organs should constantly assert in Army and Navy collectives the most just relations and an atmosphere where one sole criterion for distinguishing servicemen prevails—the results of military labor and its quality. As a rule, a sense of genuine fairness toward people comes when they live in a system of objective assessments. Ensuring objective assessments is a difficult problem. They are often hampered by subjectivism and its extreme form—egoism. The main way of neutralizing these phenomena is to honestly assess each serviceman's contribution to the cause of restructuring and enhancing Army and Navy combat readiness.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Major V. Syabro of the North Caucasus Military District, Ensign G. Plaksitskiy of the Baltic Fleet, and certain other readers of ours ask how democracy ties in with one-man leadership.

[Yazov] This question was answered by V.I. Lenin. In justifying the need for one-man leadership as a management system which ensures unity of will and action on the part of many people, the best use of human abilities, and real, not verbal, checks on their work, he noted that "there is decidedly no fundamental contradiction between Soviet (that is, socialist) democracy and the use of dictatorial power by certain individuals."

Democracy presupposes a sensible social order. The responsible approach of all Soviet citizens to their duties and state interests creates a reliable basis for the fullest implementation of its principles. One-man leadership ensures the personal responsibility of both leaders and subordinates. All one-man commanders, irrespective of their position, operate within the limits of the rights accorded them under the party's control and pursue its policies, which reflect the people's vital interests. This is the essence of the party basis of Soviet one-man leadership, which ensures its organic combination with socialist democracy.

If one-man leadership is important and necessary in running the national economy and production activity, then in the Army, where centralization and cosubordination play a paramount role, it is—as Lenin put it—the "only correct way of arranging work." In our Army, which is socialist in its origins, nature, and mission, this work is conducted under conditions of the social unity and commonality of interests and goals of the entire personnel—from soldiers to generals. One-man commanders organize and conduct this work together with political organs, firmly relying on party organizations and the conscientiousness and sociopolitical and service activeness of servicemen. That is how democracy ties in and merges with one-man leadership.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] As is well known, the principle of one-man leadership was not immediately established in our Army. Some letters touch on the history of this question. Could you briefly describe it?

[Yazov] To present the history of the establishment of the principle of one-man leadership in our Army it is necessary to go back over 70 years, to the situation prevailing shortly after the victory of great October. The civil war unleashed by international imperialism and the foreign military intervention confronted the young state with the need to create a new, socialist type of mass combat-capable army very rapidly. We passed through a number of stages en route to full one-man leadership: the broad democratism of the revolutionary masses and the institution of military commissars. The Fifth All-Russian Congress of Soviets of July 1918 pointed out in its resolution, at V.I. Lenin's suggestion, that "consistent centralism in military management, that is to say, strict and absolute subordination, is a precondition for the success of all measures in creating an army."

However, it was impossible immediately to fully implement the principle of one-man leadership in those conditions. There was an acute dearth of command cadres from a proletarian background, and the Red Army masses were not trained for this. The party was forced to enlist tens of thousands of military specialists—former generals and officers of the old army—in defense building and leadership of troop combat operations. By no means all of them immediately or fully sided with Soviet power. It was very risky to entrust one-man authority to them. Time was needed to train a sufficient number of Red officers, as V.I. Lenin called them, capable of consolidating socialism in our Army. It was also needed so that that Red Army men could see in practice the radical difference between the new command staff and that of the old army.

In view of this, the institution of military commissars was created in the Red Army in 1918. The commissars were invested with political, educational, and monitoring functions, while operational and command rights and duties and the leadership of technical aspects of the activity of formations and units remained with commanders.

The conditions for a widespread switch to one-man leadership emerged later, when the system for training military cadres created by the party began to meet the Red Army's needs. The full provision of the troops with ideologically tempered commanders with good professional training made it possible to carry out a gradual transition to one-man leadership in the mid-twenties, and by 1932 already 90 percent of commanders enjoyed the rights of full one-man commanders in the army and navy. It should be noted that that the institution of military commissars was introduced into our Armed Forces for short periods twice later—in 1937-1940 and 1941-1942. Full one-man leadership has existed in our Armed Forces since 9 October 1942.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Readers' interest is aroused by disagreements on military questions, including the question of one-man leadership that arose in the Red Army in 1919 at the Eighth Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Congress. What was the essence of these disagreements?

[Yazov] The need for and expediency of one-man leadership and the conformity of this principle of military building and leadership of the troops with the interests of socialism were not grasped by everyone immediately. A group of party and military workers who formed the so-called "military opposition" at the Eighth Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Congress opposed one-man leadership as contrary to democracy and advocated "collective command," essentially a return to partisan warfare.

The mistaken and unacceptable nature of the "military opposition's" views was revealed by V.I. Lenin. He demonstrated the need for regulations and iron military order in the Army and comprehensively substantiated the conclusion that it can be combat-capable only if there is firm, conscious discipline and strict centralization. The specifics of a military organization and the special nature of the tasks performed by it demand absolute subordination, unquestioning execution, the very highest coordination and unity of action, flexibility, and controllability. This made it necessary for the commander's authority to be exercised in the form of one-man leadership. In a socialist army this authority embodies the will of the people aimed at ensuring the reliable defense of their revolutionary gains.

V.I. Lenin's clear, well argued, and firm position helped to overcome the disagreement which had led to the debate and played the decisive role in establishing the course of strengthening the regular Red Army. The congress in fact unanimously adopted a resolution on the military question which formulated the main principles of building a regular centralized army whose socialist nature ensured the organic combination of democracy and one-man leadership.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] What is necessary, asks Lieutenant Colonel Ye. Mazurov, who is serving in a unit in the Urals Military District, to ensure that the combination of democracy and one-man leadership natural for our Armed Forces is embodied in the everyday practical activity of actual leaders?

[Yazov] One-man leadership as a principle of military building and a form of management of troops is exercised via relations among people. It is very important to ensure that the person endowed with the rights of one-man leadership knows how to use them not only as fully as possible but also correctly, in the interests of the motherland and in accordance with his duties and the requirements of the law and military regulations. For this it is necessary that at least two conditions are observed. The first relates to the qualities of the leader himself. Naturally he must be competent and possess a firm will, determination, courage, and boldness. But that is not all. Equally important for successful leadership are personal modesty, accessibility, justice, and the ability to listen to people, win them over, and carry them along. The second relates to the style of work, the essential components of which must be unity of word and deed, a high level of organization and purposefulness, consideration of the opinions of subordinates and their suggestions and feelings, and reliance on the collective.

The fulfillment of these conditions in indissoluble unity makes it possible to fully realize the potential of one-man leadership in practice. It must be said that such unity is reflected in the relevant provisions of the regulations, for example, in the general duties of commanders and other direct leaders. Just take the decisionmaking procedure legitimized in the Armed Forces and tested by actual combat. As a rule, the commander listens to his subordinates' suggestions, weighs them up, compares opinions, and adopts the most rational ones. A decision produced in this way is essentially an accumulation of the reason and will of the entire collective. When it is subsequently expressed in an instruction, directive, or order it becomes law for subordinates and not only legally but also morally binding and is perceived by servicemen as the motherland's command.

The fruitfulness of this approach to the elaboration, adoption, and implementation of decisions is confirmed by the rich combat experience of our Armed Forces and the practical work of many thousands of commanders in the Civil and Great Patriotic wars, men such as V.K. Blyukher, G.I. Kotovskiy, M.N. Tukhachevskiy, M.V. Frunze or I.V. Panfilov, I.D. Chernyakhovskiy, and K.K. Rokossovskiy, for example. What was the "secret" of their success? Not just military talent and a high level of combat organization and management but also the fact that they had a very good knowledge of the soldier's soul and never forgot that ultimately it was by his blood and sweat that decisions were carried out.

I remember the significance that was attached during the last war to conveying to frontline servicemen and every soldier the point and spirit of the order to defend or attack. The commanding officer, the commander gained the confidence that his decision would be fulfilled when he saw for himself that it was correctly understood and received by personnel. Today, too, the Army and Navy have quite a few commanders who are closely or inseparably linked with their subordinates and enjoy their unbounded trust and support. They skillfully create around themselves and in the environment of their immediate entourage and the military collective as a whole an atmosphere of openness, mutual respect, free expression of opinions, and high responsibility of each individual both for his own personal assignment and the common cause. This is the most favorable soil for molding and strengthening the serviceman's conscious, active, and creative attitude toward fulfilling the duties of military service, without which it is impossible to achieve the high quality assimilation of modern combat work or to ensure success in battle.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Some readers' letters ask the question: What correlation should there be between the administrative and, so to speak, democratic and social aspects of the activity of the one-man commander?

[Yazov] It must be said right away that such a division of the structure of one-man leadership can only be hypothetical. With this in mind, I would say that the correlation between the above-mentioned aspects should be a well considered, balanced one. Practice shows that the predominance of the so-called administrative aspect of one-man leadership in the activity of a partcular commander inevitably, sooner or later, leads him to undervalue and even actually repudiate democratic forms and methods of work with people and to his alienation from subordinates. Equally harmful is the other extreme, which manifests itself in a wish to constantly consult on every occasion, to go through an endless process of settling and coordinating all questions in order, so to speak, not to "offend" anyone and please everyone. This breeds an atmosphere of vague uncertainty, indecision, half-bakedness, and a lack of unity and purposefulness of action.

It must be clearly understood that the process of democratization in the Armed Forces by no means signifies a shift in the center of gravity of one-man leadership from, say, the "administrative" aspect to the "democratic" aspect. No, what it presupposes is restoring the correct balance between these aspects where it has been upset.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Nowadays the "command-pressure" method of work is associated with a negative style of leadership. Guards Lieutenant Colonel V. Vishnya from the Central Group of Forces and Senior Warrant Officer V. Shkolnyy from the Urals Military District consider this approach wrong in relation to army conditions. What can you say about this?

[Yazov] The question does not arise by accident. In fact, the word "commander" has the same root as the aforementioned term. Troops are controlled primarily by means of orders, commands, and instructions, which must be carried out undeviatingly. They are the levers whereby such qualities of the military organism as flexibility, controllability, mobility, and coordinated and united action are realized. Without orders, which have the force of the law in the Army, there is neither efficient interaction, nor strict regulation of mutual relations, nor efficient performance, nor discipline—that is, no army.

Essentially, the "command-pressure" style has nothing to do with the activity of a real commander or with one-man leadership in general. It means all you do is rely on "strong-arm" methods, shout, punish, and use crude coercion. Who are the people who usually resort to such methods? Those who do not know how or do not wish to organize people and get them to follow them. Such a leader creates a semblance of exactingness, but it is like a soapbubble. Arbitrariness, rudeness, and arrogance go hand in hand, as a rule, with incompetence and organizational ineptitude, at the root of which are an inability and reluctance to rely on people.

In the Army and Navy a great deal of work is being done to eradicate this style. But it is no simple task. For some officers it means demolishing a customary pattern of activity that has taken years to establish, and which is essentially a desire to "command" without bothering to choose your methods and means. It is hard for such officers to understand the demands of restructuring. It seems to them that they are all but being deprived of the right to command when they are accused of high-handed administration. Yet only one thing is demanded of them: Give orders, ensure unswerving implementation of the orders of senior commanders and your own orders and of the regulation demands, but at the same time study without fail the art of mobilizing subordinates, using to this end all the means and potential at your disposal, above all democratic means, and the creative potential of the party and Komsomol organizations, the public, and all officers, sergeants and petty officers, and soldiers and seamen.

Some leaders find it hard to acquire the ability to take public opinion into account in their practical activity, to find live forms of communication with subordinates, to keep the personnel informed, and to encourage their initiative and creativity. It is largely for this reason that by no means everywhere has it been possible so far to organize work in such a way that every serviceman has a clear picture of his place and role in the elimination of shortcomings, is clearly aware of his responsibility for improving the qualitative condition of the subunit, unit, or ship, and seeks to invest the maximum energy, knowledge, and expertise in the common cause of improving combat readiness and combat training and strengthening discipline.

Of course, it would be wrong to expect restructuring and democratization to proceed without a hitch. It is a revolutionary process, reaching down into the deepest layers of army and navy life and, consequently, difficulties are unavoidable. But it is important that it develop and develop actively so that our vigorous and persistent work on solving concrete, practical tasks of renewal ensures its irreversibility.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Readers' attention is drawn to the relationship between democratization and the enhancement of military cadres' responsibility. What governs this relationship?

[Yazov] Responsibility is, if you like, the key to restructuring and democratization. Military cadres have responsibility for consistently implementing party policy in the Army and Navy, for the combat readiness and training of troops, for their condition, and for the successful implementation of the tasks facing them. Democratization widens its boundaries.

This is manifested primarily in the realization of military cadres' social and moral responsibility for the style and results of their activity, for the quality of management, for the general state of affairs in the section in

their charge, for basing life in the subunit and unit or on the ship on mutual respect, trust, sincerity, and openness, and for ensuring that every serviceman feels a direct involvement in everything taking place in the collective and in the Armed Forces as a whole.

Democratization increases the officer's responsibility as Communist or Komsomol member to the party or Komsomol organization. It means responsibility for the conscientious fulfillment by him and by the personnel in his charge of official duties, orders, and the requirements of the oath and the regulations, for observance of the norms and rules of military life, and for personal conduct. In this connection, I must stress another idea. We often say that an officer must combine strict, fair exactingness with concern for people and interest in them. The officer must impose primarily on himself the exactingness shown toward subordinates and he must defend their honor and dignity as he would his own. Subordinates put vigor and heart into their work only when they can see that their initiative and endeavor are being supported, when officers are exacting, caring, and fair.

If personnel are passive in social and political life and service and display no commitment to high-quality performance then the officers are primarily to blame for this. And they must ask themselves how this could have happened. Clearly, this is the angle from which to approach military cadres' responsibility.

What is the main task here? On the one hand, ensuring that the methods used by military cadres accord with the level of development of personnel. On the other hand, making servicemen's initiative, creativity, and abilities, that is, all that we understand by the human factor, part of the processes of restructuring and democratization, and bringing them to bear on the steady improvement of military training standards and troops' combat readiness and military discipline.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Letters devote special attention to the commander's responsibility. The democratization process in a specific subunit, unit, or ship is frequently directly dependent on its level. What can be said in this connection?

[Yazov] There is a large share of truth in this. It is rightly said that in the Army and the Navy it is the commander who is in charge of everything and accountable for everything. The commander is responsible not only for his own decisions and actions but also for the decisions and actions of his subordinates, for their attitude to work, for their blunders and mistakes. Therefore he must clearly see the extent of his duties and of those of his subordinates and not permit either attempts to take on everything without exception or the desire to shift responsibility onto others.

There is an important and, I would say, key aspect to understanding the commander's responsibility. It consists in clear and precise awareness that success in leadership is determined, as V.I. Lenin emphasized, "not by dint of power but by dint of authority, by dint of energy, greater experience, greater versatility, and greater talent." Precisely the commander must set an example of professionalism, capacity for work, selflessness, and purposefulness. Precisely he, and no one else, is obliged personally to tackle the most difficult and most complex matters and see them through to the end.

This, I would say, is the axiom of the commander's responsibility.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] The readers' mail contains many letters whose authors ask: Of what, specifically, do restructuring and democratization consist for each military collective or serviceman taken separately? This is how the question is posed, for example, by Guards Senior Lieutenant R. Tserunyan and Seaman V. Grigorovich.

[Yazov] A principled reply to this question can be found in M.S. Gorbachev's speeches. The crux of this reply is that everyone must set himself the task of doing everything conscientiously, with greater effort and with greater responsibility to himself and the people. With regard to the Army this means stepping up combat training, service, and everyday military labor. Of course, there are no ready-made prescriptions suitable for each collective and person individually in every specific case. But still it is possible, it seems to me, to single out a number of questions which we cannot omit to resolve when concretizing the tasks of restructuring with regard to ourselves.

The first is connected with resolutely eliminating elements of formalism and red tape from our activity, overcoming freeloading sentiments, and rejecting the position of "timeservers" in resolving both combat training tasks and problems of peripheral development [obustroystvo] and social, cultural, domestic, and other problems. The second relates to mastering new approaches and work methods geared to qualitative indicators. And finally, the third consists in formulating a self-critical assessment of one's own activity and the level of one's training and in shaping an inner need for constant self-improvement and development.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Some readers ask about ways and possibilities of deepening democratism in the life of military collectives. What are they?

[Yazov] I would like to emphasize that democratism was in no way alien to the life of our Army's military collectives previously, either. Much of value and use was accumulated in this sphere in the past. And, as the experience acquired over the more than 3 years of restructuring shows, all this is being utilized successfully. Naturally, each specific instance can have its own ways and methods of deepening democracy. Incidentally, by

all accounts the editorial mail contains a growing number of letters dealing with this. Obviously, they must more boldly be given the go-ahead.

Deepening democratism means, above all, creating and strengthening in the military collective an atmosphere conducive to servicemen's high sociopolitical activeness. And for this it is important to have good knowledge of their needs, sentiments, and requirements and, if you like, the potential of each of them. In this connection attention is merited by the experience of the democratization of military life in the regiments commanded by Lieutenant Colonels A.M. Yerachin, V.N. Chichko, and V.I. Dobrynin and Colonel V.P. Basov, on the submarine "Minskiy Komsomolets" commanded by Captain 1st Rank E.F. Rybakov, in the military construction detachment headed by Lieutenant Colonel S.V. Piskarev, and in many other units and ships.

What is the chief aspect of this experience? Above all, the fact that people are at the center of the organizational and political work of political command cadres and party and Komsomol organizations in these collectives. Study of the personnel is well organized there—from the moment of admitting new recruits to discharge into the reserve. Commanders and political workers carry out painstaking individual work with subordinates. Links are established and maintained with the parents of soldiers and sergeants and with the collectives from which servicemen joined the Army.

Sentiments and the real situation in subunits and in the families of officers and ensigns are studied constantly, not from time to time. Measures are taken promptly to eliminate bottlenecks and sore points, and the public is regularly informed about how things are going and who and what is hindering the resolution of specific questions. It is a positive fact that commanders and political workers do not do this in secret but involve subordinates and take account of their opinions and suggestions when organizing the resolution of current tasks. Concern for improving the working and living conditions of personnel and servicemen's family members has become more concrete.

The activation of the work of all the democratic institutions in the Armed Forces is opening up broad opportunities for deepening democratism. What do I have in mind? Servicemen's meetings—both general and according to categories—and various kinds of social formations—comrade's courts, people's control groups, councils of clubs and Lenin rooms, editorial boards of wall and radio newspapers, enterprise labor collective councils, sports, cultural, and artistic collectives, women's councils, and so forth.

I wish to emphasize once again that all the aforesaid and other ways and possibilities of deepening democracy or, in other words, links of the democratization mechanism exist in the Armed Forces. They must function, and function not at a command "from above" but thanks to living creativity at local level. For restructuring, as the 19th all-union party conference pointed out, is certainly not manna from heaven, and we must not wait for it to be brought in from somewhere but create it ourselves, in our own collective.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Many readers link the deepening of the process of democratization in the Armed Forces with the improvement of the activity of Military Councils and political organs and the enhancement of the militancy of party organizations. Could you comment on letters such as those?

[Yazov] Enhancing the role and influence of political organs and party organizations in the Army and Navy is a CPSU program demand. The party's leadership of military building and the Armed Forces is the ultimate foundation of the strengthening of our motherland's defense. An important role in implementing the CPSU's policy of restructuring in the Army and Navy is played by the collective organs of leadership—the Military Councils. Major changes are taking place in their activity now, changes which are having a beneficial influence on the course of restructuring and the development of democratization among the troops. But unfortunately there are still quite a few things which must be resolutely eliminated. Such as, first and foremost, the passivity of some council members, a lack of criticism and self-criticism, and the practice whereby individual sessions are turned into carpetings of subordinates for failings in service.

In the process of restructuring, the profound democratic spirit underlying the work of Military Councils is strengthened. Free and businesslike discussion during the collective examination of the most important questions of the troops' life and activity helps the Military Council chairman—the commander—to consider these questions more deeply, to take account of the opinion and experience of other leaders, and to produce the best decision. And the complete unity of actions after that decision has been made ensures that the measures taken and the entire work of command and political cadres are highly effective.

The links between Military Councils and commanders, political organs, primary party organizations at local level, and military collectives are becoming closer all the time. For example, the Moscow Military District Military Council has begun to react more acutely and objectively to instances of formalism, bureaucracy, red tape, irresponsibility and indifference, and other violations of the norms of our life. It has now become obligatory when visiting garrisons to meet with personnel, to hold question and answer sessions, and to receive military servicemen and members of their family to discuss their private matters.

Positive experience has also been accumulated in the Belorussian Military District. Harmonious work and mutual exactingness are characteristic of its leadership.

When analyzing the state of military discipline the district's Military Council drew attention to shortcomings in the reception of young recruits. Incidentally, a number of criticisms have been made on this score in the press. The Military Council instructed commanders and political organs to carefully monitor the reception of recruits in units. Meetings and conversations were held with young servicemen during which many things hitherto unnoticed came to light. The measures taken were quick to have an effect. For young recruits the passage through the very first and not always easiest stage of their service became better organized and they began to blend in with the army system more quickly.

Life shows that one of the most important tasks in the democratization of military life is to reveal the full democratic potential of Military Councils and place it at the service of restructuring.

I should like to return to a question on whose solution the development of the process of democratization depends to a considerable extent. Namely, our cadre work. It must be admitted that during the years of stagnation, favoritism and subjectivism in the evaluation of cadres and their official advancement were widespread. Restructuring requires that these phenomena be removed more quickly. What must be done for that? It is necessary to enhance the role of Military Councils, political organs, and party and Komsomol organizations in the selection, placement, and training of cadres. Party and Komsomol character references must be truthful and principled and must be taken into account in cadre work at all levels. It is necessary to establish the spirit of democratism in the work of certification commissions and to enhance their prestige. A significant role here can and must be played by officers' meetings and other democratic institutions. All these factors are a reliable guarantee of the prevention of mistakes in the selection and placement of cadres, the observance of the principles of social justice, and the affirmation of a healthy moral and psychological atmosphere in collectives.

The requirement that the party organizational and political educational work of political organs and party organizations be practical and professional is paramount now.

Party organizations have a paramount role to play in the process of democratization. They must be true generators of the sociopolitical activeness of personnel and by their entire practical activity set an example of democratism and party and military comradeliness. If this strength is fully employed the cause of restructuring and democratization will proceed properly in the Army and Navy.

I should especially like to emphasize the tremendous significance of posing in a principled way in party organizations the question of ensuring strict observance of Leninist norms of party life, the personal example of Communists in service and discipline, and their vanguard role in restructuring and in the affirmation of new, quality-oriented approaches toward the solution of the tasks facing military collectives. Their attention must be constantly focused on questions of inculcating in officers the ability to work in the conditions of democratization and glasnost, to achieve high end results while relying on the social activeness of personnel, and to be both leaders of and participants in the full-blooded social and political life of military collectives.

To sum up what has been said, it is clear that the essence of improving the activity of Military Councils, political organs, and party organizations consists in ensuring in practice a party approach to the solution of all questions and all tasks and achieving a situation where party-mindedness in the everyday activity of command and political cadres is, as V.I. Lenin demanded, "not just words but deeds."

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Senior Warrant Officer S. Sokolov, Lieutenant N. Ivanenko, and certain other readers have asked whether glasnost runs counter to one-man leadership and the specific conditions of military service.

[Yazov] Of course not. Glasnost, if we are to speak of its essence, lies not only—or perhaps not so much—in the fact that each person should know more and be able to judge everything, but above all in the fact that everyone should have a clear vision and understanding of their place and role in restructuring and society's renewal.

Glasnost means serious, responsible, direct, and honest discussions about shortcomings, failings, and negative phenomena. But that is not enough. As I have already said, it is far easier and simpler to denounce than to create. We need a profound knowledge of life and a balanced attitude to assessments and conclusions. We need realism. Neither the gussying up and prettification of reality nor indiscriminate criticism and one-sidedness have anything to do with glasnost. Clearly, it is superfluous to talk about the impermissibility of replacing skilled analysis of problems with gloating over so-called "tasty" facts. It is also quite clear that it is necessary to firmly defend and actively propagandize everything objectively working for restructuring and the successful resolution of the tasks facing the Armed Forces.

All this must be borne in mind when we are talking about glasnost. The party has firmly set its sights on its extensive development in the interests of renewing our society and socialism, and in the people's interests. This is the main determining criterion of glasnost.

Naturally, genuine glasnost in no way contradicts one-man leadership or the conditions of military service. On the contrary, it promotes the eradication of everything

hampering the steady improvement of the forces' qualitative condition. There are sometimes cases when certain one-man commanders carefully guard against glasnost or criticism of their style of work, citing the status of orders in so doing. The following can be said about this. Glasnost is feared by those who work badly and who are out of step with morality. As for commanders' orders, they have been and will continue to be an immutable law for their subordinates. They are not open to any kind of discussion. This is the cornerstone of one-man leadership, discipline, and military order. At the same time, this in no way means prohibiting criticism of shortcomings in our cadres' work, failings in their vocational and moral makeup, and everything that hampers work.

One sometimes encounters supporters of a kind of "selective" criticism, whereby the publicizing of shortcomings and failings uncovered somewhere in the "upper echelons" or other collectives is met with satisfaction or even malicious glee. But any criticism of themselves meets with a hostile reception. This kind of "double" glasnost—one version for oneself, another version for everybody else—along with the substitution of demagoguery for democracy, empty discussions for specific work, and willfulness and total license for organization and order are unacceptable and impermissible. Glasnost, businesslike constructive criticism, and self-criticism are a necessary, if sometimes bitter, pill. They require a responsible approach—both from those doing the criticizing and from those being criticized.

With regard to glasnost I cannot fail to mention the need to take account of the specific tasks facing the Armed Forces. Their resolution is often linked with issues which cannot be open for all or for discussion without damaging the country's defenses and security. Needless to say, in this respect there are limits to glasnost defined by Soviet laws, which determine the structure of military life and take account of the interests of our people and of socialism. The concepts of "vigilance" and "state and military secrets" have by no means been pensioned off.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Many readers' letters touch in one way or another on the role of democratization in strengthening military discipline and, in particular, in eliminating nonregulation mutual relations.

[Yazov] It is impossible to overestimate this role. After all, discipline in our Armed Forces is by its very nature socialist, collectivist, and comradely. And, as V.I. Lenin often stressed, it is based on the principles of people's conscientiousness, devotion, and selflessness. It follows from this that the higher the personnel's conscientiousness, the stronger military discipline will be and the fewer opportunities there will be for violations of it—including nonregulation mutual relations—to emerge.

The existence of such cases in Army and Navy activity arouses justifiable concern among Soviet people. The most vigorous measures are being taken in the Armed Forces to put a stop to any attempts at nonregulation mutual relations or abominable manifestations of bullying. We see this as one of the most important tasks.

We have managed to reduce the overall number of cases of gross misconduct connected with nonregulation relations in the last 3 years. The number of servicemen convicted for this kind of offense has been halved. More than 90 percent of subunits have eliminated ignominious instances of bullying. However, we work from the premise that even isolated cases of it are intolerable. We will therefore be consistent and merciless in combatting this phenomenon. All today's command and administrative activity and party political work in the Army and Navy already contains an effective dose of antidote against breaches of discipline and social parasitism by young people embarking on their Army service and moral and moral passivity on their part. But we will continue to do everything to ensure that our commanders, political workers, and party and Komsomol activists do not grumble or despair when something does not work first time, but persistently work to eradicate negative phenomena in the life of the Army and the Navy, overcoming difficulties and relying on public opinion and the vigorous support of military collectives.

It is our duty and our obligation to consolidate in every way the continuity of the generations of the world's first socialist army born of October, to inspire in today's servicemen the desire to augment the Armed Forces' combat traditions, and to make every one of them someone who is spiritually strong with a highly developed sense of his revolutionary lineage and his fatherland. The ancients used to say that the most important thing is not to lose self-respect. Today political and organizational work among the troops is increasingly geared toward ensuring that every serviceman learns to respect himself and value his own dignity, believes in his own strength, possesses a sense of respect for his comrades, and is proud to be a member of the USSR Armed Forces. All this helps maintain a high level of conscious military discipline.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo demanded at its 13 October session this year that we take a range of extra measures to strengthen discipline. It stressed the need to ensure strict regulation order in every unit and subunit, to enhance the effectiveness of all forms of educational work and fundamentally orient it toward people, and to mold in every military serviceman a deep understanding of his patriotic duty and the need for the conscious and irreproachable execution of the requirements of the military oath and military regulations.

As far as the potential for democratization and glasnost in strengthening military discipline is concerned, I would encapsulate it thus: If we are able to enthuse all the personnel, and above all the mass of soldiers, to wage a real, specific, active struggle against the many infractions, including bullying, rather than a purely formal one, we will successfully solve this task. After all, from

the perspective of real life, there is actually no soldier or sailor who does not have an interest in strengthening discipline, since firm military order makes it easier for him to serve.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Readers, particularly the parents of draftees, quite often ask in their letters about the place that the consolidation of spiritual affinity between officers exercising one-man command and their subordinates occupies in the restructuring and democratization of military life.

[Yazov] This is central. The dialectics here are as follows. Democratization makes it possible for the spiritual affinity of commander and subordinates—that very important feature of our Army—to be fully revealed. The securing of this spiritual affinity is, in its turn, an indispensable, obligatory condition of democratization.

It should be stressed that, although the spiritual affinity of officers and men in our Army is socially determined by their class and ideological unity, it is far from being attained automatically; it does not come as a matter of course but is the result of daily, joint martial labor. I am convinced that a commander's respect for his subordinates is the key here. That is the conclusion that underpins the experience of many generations of people who have chosen the profession of defending their fatherland. How can one fail to recall here Suvorov's "The Science of Victory"! The great, undefeated Russian military leader regarded the soldier as a person, not as a "mere mechanism provided for under the Articles of War." That was one of the great secrets of his victories.

A commander is not at all required to make sentimental "declarations of love" to his soldiers. His attitude to his subordinates is reflected in his daily activity. Occasionally the true sense of the term "father-commander" is distorted out of a twisted understanding of their rights and obligations by certain commanders. Yet the true commander is really, as the poet said, a "father to the soldiers." What front-liner does not remember how soldiers quite often twice the age of their regiment's commander described him as its "father" out of love and pride. This did not originate in documents or orders, but came from the mass of the soldiers, who thereby expressed their feelings toward their commander.

However, if there is formalism, indifference, arrogance, willfulness, or disrespect for the human dignity of subordinates in a commander's activity, then no words will help—not even the loudest, finest words. Nothing can take the place of the commander's personal communication with subordinates, just as it is impossible to overestimate the significance of the educational impact of such communication. Sometimes an accurate, weighty word spoken by a commander to a subordinate in an appropriate situation—approbation or, where necessary, a stern reprimand—mean more in education than many measures. Will a soldier forget how a regiment, battalion, or company commander, for example, told him of the unit's history, traditions, and best people, how he congratulated him paternally on his birthday, visited him in the medical unit or hospital, or frequently dined at the same table in the soldiers' mess room? Only this must not be an ostentatious act but come from the heart.

The soldier's soul is extremely sensitive to any changes in the moral and psychological atmosphere of a subunit, unit, or ship, to any deviations from the norm in relationships within the collective, and to events at home, in his family, about which he learns in letters. For a soldier is in his youth. As yet he has little experience of life. An attentive, solicitous commander will at once see from signs that he alone understands that his subordinate is concerned about something, anxious, depressed, or that his soul is "not in it," as it were, and he will do everything to ascertain the reasons for this state and to support and help the soldier.

How a commander must act is determined by the regulations, according to which he is obliged to combine high exactingness, principledness, and implacability toward shortcomings with trust and respect for people and constant concern for them. This is a matter of conscience, honor, and duty for every commander. The zealous fulfillment of this duty perceived by both the mind and the heart is the chief guarantee of the commander's closeness to his subordinates.

This closeness is the norm for relationships in the socialist Army, in our Armed Forces. Its observance makes the commander's authority unquestionable, gives him firm mastery of the situation, and ensures the possibility of formulating and implementing on this basis the most effective organizational and political educational measures to direct troops and mobilize personnel for the unconditional fulfillment of the set tasks.

V.I. Lenin once laconically and graphically formulated a kind of "code of conduct" for a leader: "Live in the thick of things. Know sentiments. Know everything. Understand the masses. Know how to approach them. Win their absolute trust. Leaders, do not lose touch with the masses being led...." Every commander and political worker and every officer must be guided by this Leninist commandment in his daily work.

Unfortunately, some of our officers are distant from their subordinates. We frequently hear it said: What question can there be of losing touch if an officer lives literally day and night in the barracks? What can be said about this? It is possible to spend 24 hours a day in the barracks and nevertheless be distant from one's subordinates and lose touch with them. This happens when an officer is formally "present" and in the barracks but does not go beyond strictly "official" contact with subordinates, and the personnel essentially remain outside his influence. Soldiers see that the officer "delineates" service and, naturally, will not stretch out to him, confide in him, or turn to him for help.

Of course, we have far more examples of true closeness between officers and soldiers, particularly at the time of our servicemen's actions when fulfilling their international duty in Afghanistan, when eliminating the aftermath of the accident at the Chernobyl AES, in other extreme situations, on combat duty, and simply when performing everyday service. We are obliged to work persistently to make this the norm everywhere.

Closeness to subordinates is a most reliable guarantee of the successful fulfillment of any tasks both in peacetime and in combat. At the same time it must always be remembered that no one will be able to ensure it from outside, as it were, if the officer himself does not achieve this through his own labor and his own will, energy, knowledge, exactingness, and concern.

In conclusion I would like to say that for many generations of Soviet people military service has been a school of life, a school for fostering civic responsibility, courage, and patriotism. Today too, fulfilling his military duty within the ranks of the Armed Forces, each young person acquires, in addition to high political, professional, and moral qualities, firm conviction as to the need always and in any situation to follow the norms and principles of socialist democracy and the laws of comradeship, and to take an active life stance.

To sum up all I have said about democratization in the Armed Forces, its essence and aims may be formulated as follows. The democratization of military life means eradicating all manifestations of formalism, stagnation, passiveness, red tape, and complacency. It means enhancing servicemen's sociopolitical and service activeness and their interested involvement in the affairs of the subunit, unit, or ship. Most importantly, it means realizing the spiritual potential of political command cadres, party and Komsomol organizations, Army and Navy democratic institutions, and all personnel, in the interests of improving the quality of combat training, strengthening military discipline, enhancing the Armed Forces' combat readiness, and successfully resolving all the tasks facing them.